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PLAN, BUDGET COMMISSION REPORT TO ASSEMBLY

AU021722 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Dec p 3

[Report of the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly for Planning and Budgeting, delivered by the commission's Deputy Chairman Stefan Papagjoni, to the 4th session of the 10th Legislature of the People's Assembly on 26 December 1983 in Tirana]

[Text] Comrade deputies: The Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly for Planning and Budgeting and the other commissions of the People's Assembly have become duly acquainted with the economic and financial indexes of the draft plan and budget for 1984 that have now been presented for discussion and approval by the Council of Ministers.

From their careful study, the aid and control exercised at the base and the analysis made by each commision, it was observed that also during 1983 the working class, cooperativist peasantry, all the country's workers and the state and economic organs, in steel-like unity around the party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, mobilized all their physical and mental forces to fulfill and surpass the tasks of the 1983 plan and achieved new victories by overcoming the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, and also the difficulties created by the prolonged drought and deficits created especially in the hydropower resources.

Implementing the tasks set by the Eighth AWP Congress, the Central Committee plenums, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the laws of the People's Assembly for the plan and budget, this year better work was done at the center and base for designing the draft plan and draft budget for 1984. The central organs carried out studies and also sent working groups to the districts. However, the commission observed that in some enterprises, cooperatives, and districts -- in the fields of production growth, labor productivity, cost reductions, and increase of export tasks -- proposals were also made to lower given quotas of the 5-year plan and at the same time demand investments, manpower, and materials more than the quotas. These proposals were reviewed and corrected in time.

The state draft plan and draft budget, which are being presented for discussion and approval in this session of the People's Assembly are based on the objectives determined by the Eighth AWP Congress, the teachings of Comrade Enver, and on the 1983 achievements. These drafts were also carefully studied by the commissions of the People's Assembly. Before coming to the commission's meetings, the deputies -- besides the controls they carried out in work groups -- also listened to the opinions of the cadres, specialists, and workers in the zones where they have been elected. They demanded explanations from the State Planning Commission and the respective ministries for their work and the results achieved in fulfilling the tasks of the 1983 plan and budget, and especially concentrated upon some branches where some of the planned indexes were not fulfilled, and on the measures that have been taken and will be taken to fulfill and surpass the 1984 plan and budget. At the same time they made proposals and recommendations to improve work in the departments, as well as by the state and economic organs, in the districts and base.

Thus, the Commission for Industry demanded explanations for some problems connected with increasing production in the mines, increasing the effectiveness and scale of mechanization, processing minerals, and raising the quality of export products, and also for some issues concerned with the adoption of technology, the reduction of costs in the metallurgical and chemical industries, the production of machinery, equipment, and spare parts in the engineering industry, among other things.

Concerning these issues and others, the minister of industry and mines presented the measures that have been taken and will be taken to solve these issues, and he assured the deputies that in this direction the ministry would fulfill its tasks in the mines, in metallurgy, chemical, and engineering plants, and other areas.

In this commission's meeting the deputies raised especially the problem of further improving work to increase the production of oil and gas. They demanded explanations for some enterprises that did not fulfill the plan and for the measures taken and that will be taken by the ministry to guarantee the fulfillment of the plan in the existing oil zones, and at the same time to intensify complex studies and work for the discovery of new oil and gas zones. In connection with these problems the Ministry of Energy gave the necessary explanations to the commission, especially pointing out the measures that have been and will be taken to ensure the fulfillment of the plan in this vital branch of the economy, by cooperating more closely with the respective districts' executive committees. The commission also examined the problems of the light and food industry, demanded necessary explanations, especially for raising the processing capabilities of agricultural and livestock products, for improving technological processes, and the quality and variety of mass consumer goods.

The deputies of the Commission for Agriculture also asked questions and demanded clarifications from the Ministry of Agriculture on the fulfillment of the tasks of the 1983 plan and budget in the agricultural sector, especially pointing out some nonfulfillments of the plan's tasks in livestock, meat, cotton, and tobacco.

The deputies of the Commission for Trade examined the fulfillment of the tasks for the 1983 state plan and budget for the foreign trade sector, especially in the fulfillment of exports and imports, and the measures that will be taken in 1984, as well as the better studied organization and supply of the trade network with necessary goods, preserving the proportions, needs, and demands according to the districts and zones, both for the city and villages. The permanent commissions for construction and communications, education and culture, health and communal services, and other areas also examined the fulfillment of this year's plan and budget.

Relying upon the materials of the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum, which was held recently, the report presented to us by the Council of Ministers sets very important tasks for the state and economic organs at the center and base to rhythmically fulfill in all indexes the plan for 1984, which is also the year of the 40th anniversary of the homeland's liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution. We are in full agreement with these indexes. The Commission of the People's Assembly for Planning and Budgeting wishes to re-emphasize that the following issues should especially be kept in mind:

a) The administrative and economic organs at the center and base should further persist in making everyone understand the party's instruction that "the plan is law," and that as such it should be frontally realized and in all its indexes. For this reason, the sense of responsibility, control, and demanding of accounts should be raised so that every cadre and worker realizes the plan. The struggle against globalism and one-sidedness should also be intensified in the field of agriculture, as well as in industry and other sectors where they appear. The priority that the party gives to cereals not only does not exclude, but on the contrary necessarily demands, the complex and harmonious development of agricultural and livestock production on a wide front. We say this because the economy and people need all kinds of agricultural and livestock products.

b) Fulfilling the tasks of the 1984 plan requires precise implementation better than before, of tasks in the field of thrift in electrical energy, fuels, and raw and secondary materials, as fundamental sources for reducing costs and raising the effectiveness of production expenditures. All collectives of the economic enterprises and the agricultural cooperatives should be more forceful in this field, they should analyze costs unit by unit and should be persistent in pursuing this. Finding possibilities to overcome the unsatisfactory situation in enterprises that have losses should especially be looked into without delay, and not only these, but various other sectors -- which are more than a few -- that eat up the surplus of other sectors. Such can be found in fishing, agricultural, construction, mining, food industry enterprises, and others. When losses are noticed, whether small or large, the appropriate organs of the working collectives should discuss them and take measures to improve the situation.

The commission also believes that the ministeries and the district economic and state organs should show more care and should work more rapidly to standardize norms in enterprises of the same branch and for the same processes. For example there is no reason why the norm for cast iron smelting is realized at 695 kilograms per metric ton in the Fier Agricultural Engineering Plant, and 709 kg per metric ton in the Dinamo Plant, while in the Durres Agricultural Engineering Plant it is 720 kg per metric ton and in the Korce Agrcultural Engineering Plant 870 kg, and so on. More work should be done for standarizing norms and for beneficially using materials such as steel, electrical energy, timber materials, fuels, chemicals, and other things. The departments need to work better to raise the scale of mechanization, automation, and modernization of technological processes as a necessary condition for raising productivity and lowering material norms, without demanding supplementary financial and material resources. The successes achieved by the innovators and technicians of the Enver Hoxha Tractor Combine, of the railroad engineering base of the Korce instruments plant, and other places, to further raise mechanization and automation are a good experience that should be disseminated and generalized in other enterprises.

c) Strengthening the mechanical base of repairs to support the normal advancement of production's technology at present leaves a lot to be desired in many enterprises and is not of the standard dictated by production. In this way, in some cases, the readiness of machinery is not secured and thus there are plants, production lines, and factories that as a whole do not always work at their projected productive capacities. This happens because repairs are done with technical defects and the return of machinery to a normal condition after it has been repaired it not secured. Besides other defects of a subjective nature, there are defects of this nature also in the production of spare parts, so that they do not fulfill requirements in quantity and especially in quality. We have all the possibilities to change this situation.

d) Improvements have been noticed in transporting agricultural products, especially fruits, vegetables, and olives, from the agricultural enterprise and cooperatives. Despite this, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Food and Light Industry, and the Ministry of Communications are not meeting the requirements of this year's production as well as they should. Difficulties especially occurred with products realized above the plan. The commission proposes that the Council of Ministers charge the Planning Commission and the respective departments with studying this issue in its entirely and more deeply so that the necessary measures will be taken for next year.

We invite you, comrade deputies, to unanimously approve the draft plan and draft budget for 1984.

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY ADOPTS BUDGET, DEVELOPMENT LAWS

Law on 1984 Development Plan

AU302103 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Dec 83 p 1

["Law on the 1984 State Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania" adopted by the People's Assembly on 27 December]

[Text] Having examined the bill for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in 1984, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decided:

Article 1

The main indexes of the state plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in 1984, compared with 1983, are approved as follows:

Overall industrial production is to grow 8.5 percent, overall agricultural production 14.7 percent, and the volume of investments 3.6 percent, of which the volume of construction and installations is 5.5 percent.

The transportation of commodities in metric ton-kilometers is to grow 5.1 percent, and the export of commodities 21.4 percent. Labor productivity in industry is to increase 5.1 percent, and in construction and installations 4.5 percent.

Article 2

The Council of Ministers is to break down the 1984 plan according to ministries and other central institutions and is to adopt measures for the implementation of the tasks arising therefrom.

Article 3

This law becomes effective on 1 January 1984.

Tirana, 27 December 1983

Law No 6851

Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Sihar Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Law on 1984 Budget

AU302102 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Dec 83 p 1

["Law on the State Budget for 1984" adopted by the People's Assembly on 27 December]

[Text] The People's Assembly of the People's Socailist Republic of Albania decided:

Article 1

The state budget for 1984 presented by the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is approved as follows:

Revenue	9.2 billion leks
Expenditures	9.15 billion leks
Surplus	50 million leks

Article 2

The overall income from enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and institutions in the state budget for 1984 is set at 8,804,000,000 leks.

Article 3

The overall expenditures in the 1984 state budget to finance the socialist economy, for the further development of industry, mining, geology, the energy sector, agriculture, transportation, the communal economy, and the other branches of the economy, are set at 5,062,000,000 leks, in addition to expenditures to be covered by the resources of the enterprises themselves.

Article 4

Overall expenditures in the 1984 state budget to finance measures of a social and cultural nature (for kindergartens, 8-year schools, lower vocational schools, general and vocational secondary schools, the university and other institutes of higher education, libraries, radio-television, nurseries, hospitals, sanatoria, physical culture, pensions, allowances for mothers with numerous children, and other social and cultural measures), is set at 2,401,000,000 leks.

Article 5

The sum of 1,010,000,000 leks is set for the country's defense in the 1984 state budget.

Article 6

The sum of 144 million leks is set in the 1984 state budget to maintain the administrative apparatus.

Article 7

The 1984 budget for the district people's councils is approved at 2,984,000,000 leks, and for each district as follows [in million leks]:

1. Berat	156.4
2. Diber	103.3
3. Durres	216.8
4. Elbasan	193.7
5. Fier	179.7
6. Gramsh	34.9
7. Gjirokaster	90.6
8. Kolonje	35.8
9. Korce	177.5
10. Kruje	87.9
11. Kukes	83.9
12. Lezhe	64.4
13. Librazhd	50.4
14. Lushnje	142.8
15. Mat	61.1
16. Mirdite	47.2
17. Permet	44.8

18. Pogradec	61.4
19. Puke	45.4
20. Sarande	124.5
21. Skrapar	51.7
22. Shkoder	189.6
23. Tepelene	48.2
24. Tirana	399.3
25. Tropoje	50.5
26. Vlore	206.2

Article 8

The final state budget for 1982 is approved as follows:

Revenue	8,503,697,921.05 leks
Expenditures	8,476,863,560.30 leks
Surplus	26,834,360.75 leks

Article 9

This law comes into effect on 1 January 1984.

Tirana, 27 December 1983

Law No 6852

Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Sihar Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY LIBYA'S JALLUD

Meets With Dzhurov

LD301406 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1330 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] Major 'Abd as-Salam Jallud met this morning at the Ministry of Defense in Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, with General Dzhurov, minister of defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Also this morning, Staff Major 'Abd as-Salam Jallud laid a wreath at the tomb of the Bularian popular leader Georgi Dmitrov. Libyan Arab-Bulgarian political, economic and military subcommittees continued their work last night at the Hospitality Palace in Sofia on developing cooperation between the two friendly countries in various spheres within the framework of the bilateral friendship and cooperation treaty.

Talks End, Protocol Signed

AU301533 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] Sofia, Dec 30 (BTA) -- The talks between the chairman of the Ministerial Council, Mr Grisha Filipov, and the member of the national leadership of the Libyan revolution, Mr 'Abd as'Salam Jallud, ended here today. During the talks there were discussed the possibilities for further development of cooperation, especially in the sphere of the economy. Mr Grisha Filipov and Mr 'Abd as-Salam Jallud signed a protocol on development of the commercial, economic, scientific and technological cooperation between Bulgaria and Libya.

Departure Reported

AU301621 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Excerpt] Major 'Abd as-Salam Jallud has left Bulgaria. At Sofia Airport the guest and those accompanying him were seen off by Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, by Comrades Petur Mladenov and Andrey Lukanov, and by other officials.

Joint Communique Issued

AU021457 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Dec 83 pp 1,6

["Joint communique on the official and friendly visit of Major 'Abd as-Salam Jallud, member of the revolutionary leadership of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria on 28-30 December"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Bulgarian leadership, from 28 to 30 December Major 'Abd as-Salam Jallud, member of the revolutionary leadership of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, made an official and friendly visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The guest was accorded a warm hospitality, which was an expression of the strength of the two peoples' friendship and solidarity. Major Jallud was received by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council. During their talks they exchanged opinions on a broad range of matters pertaining to bilateral relations and international issues of interest to both countries. Major Jallud conveyed the greetings of Colonel Mu'ammar al'Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 **September Revolution**, to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who in turn asked Major Jallud to convey his most sincere greetings and good wishes to Colonel Mu'Ammar Al-Qadhdhafi and the friendly Libyan people.

Talks also took place between Major Jallud and Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The following persons took part in the talks on the Bulgarian side: Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Agroindustrial Union; and Fulip Ishpekov, Bulgarian ambassador to Libya.

The following persons took part in the talks on the Libyan side: 'Abd al-'Ati al-'Ubaydi, foreign liaison secretary; Abu Zayd 'Umar Durdah, land reclamation secretary; and Faradzh Saiti, secretary of the People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in Bulgaria.

Matters of comprehensive bilateral cooperation and international issues of interest to the two countries were touched upon during the talks. The sides stressed the great significance of the results achieved during the January 1983 visit to Bulgaria of Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Revolution, who visited Bulgaria at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, which gave new dimensions and prospects to the good Bulgarian-Libyan relations.

The two countries noted with great satisfaction the growing development of their cooperation in various areas. They confirmed their determination to make further efforts in searching for new forms of cooperation in the interest of the two friendly peoples. In this context they highly evaluated the activity of the Joint Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

A protocol on further developing economic, trade, and scientific-technical cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah was signed during the visit.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah stressed that stopping the arms race is the most important problem facing mankind today. This race has been provoked by the U.S.-NATO adventurist course aimed at military superiority and at violating the principles of equality and equal security. They condemned this course, which threatens mankind with nuclear catastrophe and declared their opposition to the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe, something which represents a great danger for the European peoples, as well as some North African countries, especially after the missile deployment in Sicily. They stressed that these actions, as well as activating the involvement of the United States and other NATO countries in local conflicts, and the creating of U.S. bases in the Arab region and Africa, caused the increase of international tension. The two sides support the positive initiatives included in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact countries, adopted on 5 January 1983, as well as the most recent Soviet declaration on this matter.

The two sides stressed the necessity of uniting and rallying all anti-imperialist, progressive, and democratic forces as well as the importance of establishing a broad front of the struggling peoples, in order to oppose U.S. imperialism and foil its aggressive course.

The two sides declare that it is necessary to work in order to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation, free of foreign bases. They stressed that European security is connected with security in the Mediterranean.

The two sides reviewed the explosive situation in the Arab region, which is a result of the Zionist occupation of the Arab territories and the continuing aggression against the Arab countries. They condemned this aggression, supported by U.S. imperialism, and the strategic U.S.-Zionist alliance, which creates a real danger of expanding the U.S. military presence in the Arab region, and represents a threat to Syria, the national-progressive forces in Lebanon, and the region as a whole. The aim of the U.S.-Zionist alliance is to impose a solution to the Palestine problem through hegemony and capitulation to the detriment of the Arab people of Palestine. The two sides expressed their support of the struggle of the Lebanese people and its progressive forces for the immediate, total, and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupational forces from Lebanon, for preserving its sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, and for the withdrawal of the so-called "multinational force" of the United States and other NATO countries from Lebanon's territory.

The two sides sharply condemned all separate deals of the kind of the Camp David agreement, imposed under conditions of a military occupation and inequality, such as the so-called "Reagan plan," which aims at protecting the Israeli occupation and guaranteeing the expansionist interests of imperialism and Zionism in the region. Simultaneously, they confirmed again that a comprehensive, just, and lasting solution of the Middle East crisis can be achieved only after the total and complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and after the legal rights of the Arab people of Palestine are restored, including its right on self-determination and creating its own independent state in its motherland.

In this fateful moment the issue of the unity of all Arab states and the unity of the PLO acquire special significance if the struggle against the coordinated pressure of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction is to be won. The two sides support the PLO as the only legal representative of the Arab people of Palestine, representing the fighting character of this people.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria expressed support for the steps taken by the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah for achieving Arab unity. Bulgaria condemns the military provocations, economic blockade, and propaganda campaign of U.S. imperialism against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, and expresses its support for the efforts of the Libyan people and struggle of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah for protecting its national independence and territorial integrity against all actions and threats through the Gulf of Sidra.

The two sides stressed the importance of the alliance of the Arab countries and the socialist community led by the USSR.

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah highly evaluates the role of the USSR and the other socialist community states for protecting peace, detente, disarmament, and developing international cooperation, as well as the support rendered by these countries to the just cause of the Arab peoples, to the newly liberated and developing countries, and to the national liberation movements. The Libyan side greets the principles and constructive policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world, turning the Balkans into a region of goodneighborliness, understanding, and cooperation, and the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

While reviewing the situation in Africa the two sides expressed their deep concern over the increasing interference of imperialism in the internal affairs of African states, as well as the expansion of the collusions and aggressive acts against the unity, independence, and sovereignty of African states struggling against colonialism.

In this context they stressed the significance of the OAU as an important factor in the struggle for peace, independence, and progress, and against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, reaction, Zionism, and all forms of oppression and imperialist pressure. The two sides decisively condemned the attempts to cause disunity among the African states and weaken the OAU.

The two sides expressed their solidarity with the peoples' struggle for freedom and independence and condemned the policy of hegemony, in all its forms, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, conducted by imperialism. They advocated stopping the armed aggression of the racist South African regime against Angola, Mozambique, and Lesotho, expressed their firm support of the right of Namibia to independence, in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions, and condemned the attempt to connect its independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The two sides demanded a stop to the imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Chad, and for withdrawing the imperialist and reactionary forces from this country, and stressed that the conflict must be solved through a dialogue between the hostile groups on the basis of the OAU decisions. They greet the practical OAU steps in this direction.

The sides condemned the barbarous U.S. aggression against Grenada as well as its continuing interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and other Central American countries.

The two sides stressed the significance of the Nonaligned Movement and its role in reducing world tension, in disarmament, and the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism, and for strengthening national independence, peace, and social progress.

Confirming the responsibility of the colonizers for the material and human losses, suffered by the peoples under colonial oppression, the sides stressed the necessity of compensating these losses by the imperialist states. They demanded an end to the exploitation of the developing countries' national resources by the monopolies, which is the basis of their burdened economic situation. They demanded respect for the sovereignty of these countries and recognition of their right to dispose of their natural resources themselves and use them for their own development. They confirmed the importance of reconstructing the existing international economic relations and establishing the new international economic order based on justice and equality.

The two sides highly evaluated the results of the visit to Bulgaria by Major 'Abd as-Salam Jallud, member of the revolutionary leadership of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, and expressed their conviction that the visit will contribute to further strengthening and developing the relations of friendship and fruitful bilateral cooperation in various areas.

Major 'Abd as-Salam Jallud, member of the revolutionary leadership of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, expressed his deep gratitude to the Bulgarian people and its leaders for the warm hospitality rendered to him. On behalf of Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Revolution, he renewed the invitation for Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, to visit the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. He invited Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, to visit the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. The invitations were accepted with satisfaction.

Sofia, 30 December 1983

FOREIGN MINISTRY, USSR EMBASSY STAFF MEET

AU301915 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] The traditional New Year's meeting between the staff of the Foreign Ministry and the collective of the Soviet Embassy was held in Sofia today. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and Leonid Grekov, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, proposed toasts.

LEADERS' APPEARANCES REPORTED 25-31 DECEMBER

AU311654 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian, in its broadcasts from 25 to 31 December, notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts noted in parentheses):

Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, attended a plenum of the Sofia city trade union organization in Sofia (0900 GMT 26 December).

Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of metallurgy staff in Sofia (1830 GMT 26 December).

Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary, attended a plenum of the Razgrad Okrug Party Committee in Razgrad which discussed cattle-breeding matters (1830 GMT 26 December).

Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the Sofia City Party Committee, attended a conference in Sofia on conserving the power supply in the city (1000 GMT 28 December). Aleksandrov also chaired a meeting of the Sofia city party organization which discussed Sofia trade matters. (1600 GMT 28 December).

Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, chaired a plenum of the Committee for Culture which discussed its past work (1600 GMT 28 December).

Ognyan Doynov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, visited various appartment houses and industrial plants in Varna (1600 GMT 29 December).

HUSAK NEW YEAR SPEECH BACKS NEW DEFENSE MEASURES

LD011503 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 1 Jan 84

[New Year speech by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, also carried by all CSSR radio stations -- live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens, comrades and dear friends: On the threshold of the new year of 1984 I greet you all cordially on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front, on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government, as well as on my own behalf and wish you from the bottom of my heart good health, happiness, personal contentment, and working successes in the new year.

Today we reflect on the past year and its results and on the tasks and prospects for the new year. Together with our own personal hopes millions of our citizens link with it above all the desire that the successful development of our society continues and that they may live and work in peace. The securing of the peaceful and contented life for our nations is the principal concern of the supreme party and state bodies. The CPCZ Central Committee at its November meeting -- as our public was informed in detail -- concerned itself with these very basic questions. With full seriousness we examined the complicated international situation and assessed in exacting terms the economic results of last year. We adopted the necessary conclusions for the further implementation of the program of the 16th congress and to safeguard the attained high living standard and social guarantees of our people.

Dear friends: The good life of our citizens and the firm position of Czechoslovakia in the world call for lasting attention to the growth of the national economy. During the past year workers, farmers, and members of the intelligentsia, workers of all branches of industry, the construction sector, transportation and communications, agriculture, trade, services, and other sectors did a great deal of selfless work. Because of them we succeeded not only in fulfilling but also in mainly exceeding the tasks contained in the state plan, in speeding up economic development and in making an important step toward fulfilling the Seventh 5-Year Plan. We built a number of new important production facilities, built thousands of new apartments, hundreds of schools, hospitals, and other social, cultural, and sport facilities. We consolidated both the internal and external balance of our economy. We deem it most important that this enabled people to live decently and be contented, without anxiety about tomorrow.

The development of education, the health service, sciences and research, culture and arts, and other spheres continued successfully. We also appreciate the activity of the members of our armed services in ensuring the defense and security of our homeland.

The high level of the activity of the social organizations and national committees, the growing participation of the working people in management and administration are symptomatic of the active and creative atmosphere and profound democratism of our society. This has contributed to the favorable, stable internal political situation, characteristic of our state.

True, we also have problems and weak spots. We have in various sectors not a few difficulties, unnecessary shortcomings, manifestations of low discipline and irresponsibility. We talk about them openly and strive, with the broad participation of the public, to rectify them. When however we weigh the overall results we can state responsibly that the year of 1983 was a good year for Socialist Czechoslovakia.

I would like to thank communists, people without any party affiliation, members of other political parties, trade union members, members of the youth union, and members of other organizations of the National Front for their contribution to the development of our society. I also express my thanks for the support given to the policy of the CPCZ, the National Front and the socialist state. Its purpose is the work for the well-being of the people, for the security and flourishing of our homeland, for peace and progress in the world.

In fulfilling this year's tasks we shall be proceeding from the good base that we possess. We shall be further deepening the positive social and economic trends and striving to make more rapid progress. The growing demands placed on us by our times, the needs of our society, and competition with the outside world do not permit us to be satisfied with what has been achieved. These demands require us to make better use of existing opportunities and to manage more effectively and with due regard to economy.

We attach great significance in particular to the speeding up of the pace of the scientific and technological progress and to deepening our participation in international socialist integration. For the whole society and for each individual this simple principle applies in socialism: If we want to live better, we have to work better.

Dear friends: Creative work is also the main contribution to safeguarding peace and the security of our country. Our citizens in their overwhelming majority know from where the serious threat to peace springs. At thousands of meetings they have voiced their opposition to the aggressive designs of the reactionary and, above all, American imperialism. They have accepted with understanding the necessary measures, defense measures, that we are implementing jointly with the Soviet Union and other socialist states in view of the deployment of the new American missiles in West Europe.

In the interest of peace it is not possible to allow the aggressive forces of imperialism to upset the existing strategic balance in the world and to endanger the postwar set-up in the world and the security of our and other socialist states. We cannot forget Munich, the destruction of our state sovereignty, national freedom, and the threat to the very existence of our nations. Also this must be taken into consideration in this connection.

We cherish no illusions that international development will take place without complications. The averting of the threat of war demands that we continue to strengthen the unity of people, the economic and political power of our country, the ties of alliance with the states of the Warsaw Pact organization, and take care to enhance our defense capabilities. It also requires the further consolidation of the cohesion of the socialist countries, for the peace movement to grow in strength, a movement in which progressive, realistically thinking people, regardless of their political and religious affiliation, associate themselves throughout the world. We shall spare no effort to make the greatest contribution to this.

We share the profound humanism of the stand recently expressed by Comrade Yuriy Andropov to the effect that mankind deserves a better fate that to live in a world in the throes of conflicts and under the threat of nuclear weapons. And it is toward this end that the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, which we fully support, are directed. The present correlation of forces in the world, the might and strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, the upsurge of the antiwar movement -- all this justifies our belief that sound reason will triumph in the end and that we shall succeed in preserving peace for the world and our people. It depends on everyone, and we believe that everyone will make his own contribution through his or her honest work.

Dear friends: This year we are entering a period in which we shall successively celebrate the glorious milestones in the national liberation struggles of the Czechs and Slovaks: the 40th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising, the battles of Dukla, the uprising of the Czech people, and the culmination of the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army in May 1945. These historic events opened the way for our people to regain national freedom and state independence, to a reliable international guarantee of the independence of Czechoslovakia, and to the great social, economic, and cultural development of our homeland. The results of almost 4 decades of postwar development have proven and fully demostrated the correctness of our socialist path, which fully corresponds to the interests and needs of the people, and thus has their full support. We will continue consistently along this path.

We base our peaceful socialist present and future primarily on our faithful friendship and firm alliance with our best friend, the Soviet Union, and on our membership of the socialist community. On the threshold of the new year we send warm greetings and wishes to the Soviet people and to the people of the other fraternal socialist countries for further success. We express our active solidarity with all those in the world who are fighting for peace and progress, against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression, for the freedom of nations and the rights of the working people, for a bright future for mankind. We send cordial greeting to all Czechoslovakia's friends abroad.

Dear fellow citizens and comrades: Our socialist system, our material resources, the energy and experience of our workers, their commitment, will, and determination to work for the flourishing of our homeland all justify us in looking forward to the new year with confidence and sober optimism. Let us do everything together to ensure that 1984 is another year of peaceful life and development for our society.

Once again, dear friends, I wish you with all my heart good health, success in your work, and personal contentment in the new year.

SOFIA PAPER CARRIES INTERVIEW WITH CHNOUPEK

AU301939 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Dec 83 p 4

[Interview given by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, to Georgi Monev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Prague, with introduction entitled: "Our Optimism Is Based on Soberness and Creative Principles" -- no date given]

[Text] In Europe, where two world wars have broken out, the Reagan administration is now undertaking a dangerous and risky adventure. This is not accidential, because socialism is the main hindrance for imperialism on our continent. Our attention is now focused on this continent not only because we live on it but also because of the fact that it is the most sensitive point in the world and that the destiny of peace and of all mankind depends on it.

The deployment of U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles in certain West European countries is a direct threat to the socialist countries. These deadly weapons, which are being deployed on the territory of the FRG, are most directly threatening Czechoslovakia.

In this connection, Georgi Monev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Prague has kindly asked Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, to express his view on these problems.

[Chnoupek] It has been a tradition to think about the old year and ask what 1983 was for us.

As far as the international situation is concerned, we must primarily emphasize that 1983 was a year in which the socialist countries had to confront the strivings of the United States and its NATO allies to achieve a decisive military superiority. 1983 was a year of unusual peaceful activity by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries aimed at preventing the fulfillment of the 1979 NATO decision on the so-called rearmament with new U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles. The West has not reacted in general to any of the numerous Soviet peace initiatives. On the contrary, in October and November the West began to intensify preparations for deploying the missiles. It also made no secret to the public of the fact that it had no interest and did not place stock in the Geneva talks on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe, and also that it did everything possible to draw out the talks with the purpose of gaining time on the one hand, and on the other, of distracting the public's attention from the deployment of the missiles.

As a result of the beginning of deployment of the U.S. missiles in West Europe, a very dangerous situation emerged which endangers European and world peace, undermines the foundations of international security, and increases the threat of a nuclear disaster. Taking this into account, the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies were forced to undertake appropriate necessary measures for guaranteeing their security and preventing a violation of the already established balance of power in Europe. Thus, those who have gullibly fooled themselves with the idea of launching a nuclear first strike now have to understand that the Soviet Union is absolutely determined to do everything possible in order to not allow any violation whatsoever of its own security and that of its allies.

[Monev] In your view, is the present tense situation in Europe surmountable?

[Chnoupek] In this aggravated situation caused by the deployment of the U.S. missiles, we in no way should be skeptical or hopeless. Being Marxist-Leninists, we look at the future with sober optimism by taking into account the fact that the struggle for peace will be more difficult now, that the path undertaken in Helsinki in 1975 and confirmed in Madrid in 1983 will be more complicated, and that the progress in the sphere of disarmament will need much more effort, skill, and patience.

We have a sound starting basis. This is an entire complex of peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member-countries aimed at averting a nuclear war, eliminating nuclear weapon systems, limiting military budgets, reducing military tension in Europe, and resolving a number of international problems. The most important of these initiatives will continue to be the proposal for signing a treaty on the mutual non-use of force and on preserving the peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO member-countries as adopted by the January session of the Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-countries.

[Monev] Under the conditions of the present exacerbated international relations, are the possibilities for resuming the Geneva talks realistic?

[Chnoupek] The situation regarding the possibilities of continuing the Geneva talks on limiting the nuclear weapons in Europe is not also an irreversible one. This is clearly said in the declaration by Yuriy Andropov, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and it stems from the principled Soviet orientation toward halting the arms race.

If the United States and its NATO allies are ready to go back to the point before the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union is ready then to participate in the talks. We have already expressed our support for this stand.

[Mcnev] What are the socialist countries specifically expected to do now?

[Chnoupek] Taking into account the intensified actions of the most reactionary forces of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, it will be very difficult, complicated, and strenuous to follow a policy of safeguarding and strengthening peace, of alleviating tension, of halting the arms race, and of expanding and deepening cooperation among the peoples. However, this is necessary and possible in all cases. In these efforts, it is a principled task for us to unite and coordinate the approach of all socialist countries, to actively support and consistently implement the peace initiatives of the socialist community. That is our concrete answer for surmounting the present complicated international situation.

INDRA RECEIVES USSR FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTION

LD301512 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, today received (Marat Kuznetsov), charge interim and counsellor to the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, who handed him the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 29 December 1983 on the international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

Comrade Alois Indra highly praised this important document adopted by the supreme representative and legislative body of the fraternal Soviet Union and expressed the full support of the Federal Assembly and all Czechoslovak people to the consistent peace foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the measures for ensuring the security of the Soviet people and its allies.

BRIEFS

GOODS PROTOCOL WITH HUNGARY -- A protocol on the exchange of goods between Czechoslovakia and Hungary was signed in Budapest today. Among the articles occupying an important place in Czechoslovak exports to Hungary will be machine tools, motor vehicles, agricultural and construction machines, electrical engineering and electronic goods, and rail vehicles. Principal Hungarian exports to Czechoslovakia will be construction machinery, measuring and controlling equipment, computing and agricultural equipment, buses, and certain kinds of consumer goods. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 30 Dec 83 LD]

HONECKER CALLS FOR PEACE IN NEW YEAR ARTICLE

LD301601 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1024 GMT 30 Dec 83

["What Follows here is an article 'A Peaceful and Happy New Year to All Citizens' by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin 30 Dec (ADN) -- To all citizens a peaceful and happy New Year, by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

On the threshold of the New Year into which we now pass I would like to express the hope that it will be a year in which we come nearer to a secure peace. In many areas of our socialist society we want to achieve further progress for the good of the people. Peace and socialism belong together. The two cannot be separated. With this in mind I wish all the people of the GDR health, prosperity, and success in 1984.

Behind us lies an eventful year of hard work and hard struggle. Seldom have issues decisive for the future of mankind become such a focus of worldwide debate as have the issues of war and peace. Despite the unanimous opposition of millions of people, regardless of the will and the interests of the peoples, the deployment of American Pershing II and cruise missiles began in Western Europe. This has produced a further complication of the international situation, a new round in the arms race, an increase in the danger of a world nuclear war. The world is moving into a new, perhaps the most dangerous period of postwar development.

All this has caused much concern in our country. At the same time it has strengthened our determination to undertake even greater efforts now in order to prevent mankind from sliding into a nuclear inferno. In no other year prior to 1983 has Europe seen such enormous mass demonstrations against the missile policy of NATO, and for disarmament, for a lasting peace. More and more people have come to realize that it is not only necessary but that it is also possible to thwart the plans of the nuclear war strategists.

At the seventh session of the SED Central Committee this perspective of our struggle was clearly outlined. The strength of socialism, the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union, of the GDR and the other fraternal states, the joint action of all who genuinely want peace are of vital importance for this. Equipped with the experience gained from the year 1983, the forces for peace will be in a position to carry out their struggle even more effectively. I am firmly convinced of this.

I imagine that each of us feels how important it is that particularly at this time the GDR has been able to continue its stable and dynamic development so reliably. The resolutions of the 10th SED Congress, particularly on the unity of economic and social policy, were further implemented with positive results. The Karl Marx Year, in which we honored the genius who founded scientific socialism, gave a strong impetus to all this.

In all conscience we can say that our first state of workers and farmers on German soil, in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of our community, has fulfilled its responsibility as a cornerstone of peace and socialism in Europe. Of decisive importance were the outstanding achievements attained throughout our country in the strengthening and the protection of the GDR. For this I should like to express to the working class, the cooperative farmers, all working people, no matter where they gave their best, the heartfelt thanks of our party and government.

In 1983 our economy grew continuously and fulfilled, nay sometimes overfulfilled, the most unappreciable planned rates of growth. This is shown most clearly in the growth of produced national income, which according to our present information was 4.3 percent. This bears witness to the powerful pulse of our economy. Various areas of economic life have produced positive results. Thus the production of industrial goods grew by 4.6 percent, whereas at the same time unit consumption by way of important sources of energy and raw materials was reduced by 7 percent. Net production was increased by 6.6 percent, labor productivity by 5.8 percent. Regarding foreign trade we have conscientiously fulfilled above all our export commitments to the Soviet Union and have further developed this vital cooperation. In trade with the nonsocialist economic area a favorable trade balance of the order of billions of marks was again achieved.

The GDR achieves its economic progress mainly because it has learned to use its own internal means more efficiently. Science and technology are now being better concentrated on the most important economic processes. All in all, our socialist planned economy is adjusting quite effectively and comprehensively to the path of intensive development of production. In this way we are ensuring the required increase in performance for the successful continuation of the course of the main task. We are firmly determined to do this, and attempts at boycott by certain Western circles will not prevent us from doing so.

Naturally this brings high demands with it, which not infrequently must be mastered through great personal commitment and sometimes also in the face of considerable difficulties. What counts in the end are the results, which justify all the effort. Our balance sheet shows that the economic strategy of our party is proving itself in practice.

This applies in full measure to agriculture. As is known, in 1983 we succeeded in harvesting over 10 million tons of grain from GDR fields for the second time. The hot summer was less suitable for other crops, however, which have an important place among the fodder crops for livestock raising. But in view of the adverse conditions the cooperative farmers achieved significant accomplishments in guaranteeing supplies to the population. On the land, too, important progress was made in achieving a more favorable cost-benefit ratio.

The economic successes brought further improvements in working and living conditions. This was nowhere more obvious than in housing construction, the heart of our social policy program. In 1983, 197,000 dwellings were built or modernized, which is 9,900 more than in the previous year. The working people are pleased to see how systematically we take care of their most important essential needs. The picture is exactly the same in education, the health service, and in many other spheres. Real wages are rising steadily. The production of consumer goods has been increased, although still greater efforts are required here.

In our socialist society, rising labor productivity is a solid foundation for social security. How starkly this contrasts with the everyday crises under capitalism. Far from eliminating mass unemployment, in the capitalist countries of Europe alone they are forecasting a further increase in the number of unemployed to 20 million by 1985.

In the new year our republic will continue its economic gains. In the 1984 plan the yardsticks and tasks are set out from which we derive the next steps in the implementation of our economic strategy. "Through new technology and new products to higher efficiency" -- this slogan expresses the fact that in the future our economic growth will be determined to an even greater degree by the most modern science and technology.

This is a challenge to qualifications, inventive spirit, and engineering knowledge, in which we have a strong tradition. The fact that it is being taken up with much optimism and initiative is demonstrated already by the competition commitments of the work teams of many enterprises and combines.

The fundamental importance of our all-round fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union repeatedly proves itself. The closer we link the intellectual and material potentials of our countries the better we can master the most demanding tasks. One need only recall successful joint efforts in the fields of microelectronics, robot technology, and other futeristic technologies. The agreements reached with Yuriy Andropov during our party and state visit to the Soviet Union mapped out the long-term prospects for the further integration of our economies. The economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the other CEMA countries is also progressing well. This is very important for us. It also consolidates the GDR's positions in the worldwide division of labor, the advantages of which we will continue to draw on in 1984.

During the year which is now drawing to a close the GDR has done its utmost in safeguarding peace in Europe and the whole world, and for a constructive solution to the problems connected with it, especially in the field of disarmament. At the center of its international activities alongside the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, was the fight against deployment of new U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe. The fateful nature of this NATO plan and its consequences were also clearly shown at my many meetings with leading FRG political figures. It was made plain that all those who approved such a step were saddling themselves with a grave responsibility.

Now, after the beginning of deployment of the U.S. missiles, the situation is no longer as it was before. This applies particularly in view of the fact that, for the first time since 1945, the danger of war emanates from German soil, from the territory of the FRG. Hence the Soviet Union and our socialist community had no other choice but to implement the countermeasures they had warned of in order to maintain the military-strategic balance. In this situation we mobilize all our efforts to try to stop the further deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles, to have the systems already deployed removed, and to get the United States and the other NATO countries to return to the situation existing prior to the deployment of their medium-range missiles in Europe.

A most urgent problem on the agenda of world politics is the limitation and reduction of arms, particularly of nuclear arms, according to the principle of equality and equal security. The proposals of Prague and Moscow offer a viable basis for possible measures which would help to prevent peace from being constantly endangered by ever-new weapons systems, and would help stabilize peace by reducing them. Of particular urgency is the conclusion of a treaty between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on the mutual renunciation of military force and the preservation of peaceful relations. The GDR will take part in the Stockholm conference, which is to begin its discussions in a few days, with a firm desire to do what it can to reduce military confrontation, and to promote confidence and security-building measures and disarmament.

We are and remain consistent proponents of peaceful coexistence, of a return to detente, and of mutually advantageous cooperation. Accordingly we think it is necessary that the serious damage which the NATO deployment has done to European treaties, including the Basic Treaty on relations between the GDR and the FRG, should be limited as far as possible.

HONECKER, ANDROPOV EXCHANGE NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS

LD011946 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1801 GMT 1 Jan 84

[Text] Berlin 1 Jan (ADN) -- The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, exchanged most cordial New Year's greetings with the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Yuriy Andropov.

Best wishes for 1984 were also exchanged between Erich Honecker and leading representatives from the other socialist countries, as well as with the heads of state of numerous other countries.

Cordial greetings for the new year were exchanged between Erich Honecker and the leaders of communist and workers' parties, of other friendly parties abroad, as well as with representatives from international organizations and liberation movements.

Friendly greetings for the New Year were exchanged between the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Nikolay Tikhonov. Willi Stoph and his counterparts in the other socialist states, as well as government leaders from other countries, also conveyed best wishes for 1984 to one another.

New Year's congratulations were also exchanged between the president of the GDR People's Chamber, Horst Sindermann, and parliamentary presidents in all the world.

USSR MILITARY JET CRASHES NEAR SCHWEDT

LD310842 Hamburg DPA in German 0809 GMT 31 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 31 Dec (DPA) -- According to a report in the BERLINER MORGENPOST, a Soviet jet fighter-bomber crashed near the GDR city of Schwedt on Christmas Eve, killing the two pilots. In the report in its Saturday edition, the newspaper, which is published in West Berlin, referred to reports from West German travelers who had returned from the GDR on Friday. So far nothing about the incident has been reported in the centrally controlled GDR media.

According to the information, the plane had crashed on 24 December at 1500, 6 km southwest of Schwedt in an open field. Shortly after the crash, a car driver saw the crater made by the plane about 50 meters from the road. The wreckage of the plane was still on fire. GDR policemen were busy cordoning off the crash site. The plane is said to have belonged to a group of five jet bombers which came from the direction of Poland and flew over Schwedt.

RADIO CONDEMNS U.S. PLANS FOR UNESCO WITHDRAWAL

LD302332 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Harald (Scheffler) commentary]

[Text] UNESCO has fulfilled its tasks beyond all expectations, French President Francois Mitterrand said at the opening of the 22d General Assembly regarding this UN Organization for Education, Science, and Culture in Paris in October. Now at the end of the year the United States has announced its withdrawal from UNESCO effective 1 January 1985. The organization was, according to the American delegation head Gerard, too politicized and therefore no longer fulfilled its purpose of promoting development.

Putting aside the fact that the United States never complained when policy acceptable to it was made in the UN, in its subordinate organizations or in other international bodies -- and this was the case for many years -- the field of education and culture is a deeply political one. That is simply in the nature of things. If UNESCO devotes itself, for example, to promoting the training of teachers, especially in those parts of the world where the imperialist policy of colonialism and neocolonialism left whole peoples in ignorance and without education, if UNESCO concerns itself with improving the educational opportunities of particularly disadvantaged people, then this quite unavoidably is related to politics. Better education and greater knowledge for more and more people are things that imperialist policy objectively opposes. It is not by chance that one of the first measures taken by the U.S. aggressors after their invasion of Grenada was to abolish general free schooling for all children. That does not mean that the United States, the country with the most Nobel Prize winners and the most illiterate, is totally against education. It is certainly for education, only not for everyone, and above all with contents inbued with the idea of the American way of life.

It was similar with the new world information system proposed by UNESCO. It did not suit the representatives of so-called freedom of opinion from the United States that reporting in conformity with the truth, for instance about developing countries, is demanded there, or that it is laid down that no war propaganda should be propagated. The whole line does not suit the United States. For that reason, and despite all the failures it has suffered in the past with obstructionist policies of this sort -- we recall only the temporary U.S. withdrawal from the UN Labor Organization, the ILO -- despite this, the withdrawal from UNESCO has been announced for 1985, a step that triggers off rejection and criticism not only among UNESCO representatives from the socialist and developing countries. THE TIMES of London, for example, wrote today that a great power loses dignity and respect if it shows itself to be too upset if a joint enterprise does not go entirely its way. That is precisely what this is about. The U.S. step essentially demonstrates nothing other than disregard for the democratic majorities in this body, which the United States aims to force to adopt a course that it accepts first by means of this threat and then by means of a U.S. withdrawal itself. One even hears from Washington that there is a desire to punish UNESCO for its insubordination toward the United States; a policy according to the motto: Either the way we want it or not at all.

It is the same policy which aims, for example, to impose U.S. wishes on the people of Lebanon by means of military power; which aims to force Nicaragua to its knees by means of terrorist attacks; and which aims to make Zimbabwe obedient by means of blocked credits. Hundreds of examples could be added to these. They all show that blackmail, threats, presumption -- no means are left out when the intention is to push through imperialist confrontation policy. But the time has now passed when the world allowed the United States to impose its wishes so easily. The peoples want learning and knowledge, they want to have their own opinion, whether Washington likes it or not.

S. BAHN AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH FRG 30 DEC

LD201949 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1648 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] Berlin, 30 Dec (ADN) -- In the capital of the GDR, Berlin, the agreement on the solution to the problem of the S-Bahn, which had been initialed yesterday, was signed today. For the GDR, the main department [not further identified] chief Director Dr Meissner and for the Senat of Berlin (West) Councillor Hinkefuss signed the document. The agreement comes into force on 9 January 1984.

FALUGEVI SPEECH AT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY 23 DEC

AU291344 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Dec 83 p 1, 2, 3

[Speech by Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, at the National Assembly session held in the Parliament in Budapest, on 23 Dec]

[Text] Our plans and the system of interrelation between the economy and politics are today being influenced much more by international conditions and tensions that have become lasting. Knowing and seeing all this here in the National Assembly, in the collectives and enterprises and cooperatives, and in the peaceful family reunions in the coming holidays, we can assess the possibilities and obstacles of our progress and, of course, also the question of how we live today and how we can continue to live under such circumstances.

It has long been characteristic of our economic situation that burdens on the country as a result of its international commitments are big, while our resources -- first of all the dividable national income -- are much more modest. We must therefore manage our economy in such a way as to maintain our solvency by any means and continue to ensure our society's social security and safeguard our achievements by utilizing these relatively modest resources cleverly and efficiently. As the statement of the Central Committee's session of 7 December pointed out, our people have been and are working successfully in a balanced social atmosphere. Behind this seemingly ordinary statement there lies determination and the extraordinary efforts of a large number of collectives. Bearing in mind the restricting circumstances, we can firmly say that it covers an achievement worthy of appreciation at an international level, as well. This is true even if at the same time we must conclude that this year, too, requirements have increased faster than the productive capacity of the economy and the level of our management.

In contrast to many countries of the world, we can say that in Hungary, per capita consumption increased in the last years, too, and we maintained full employment and a good supply of goods. Unfortunately, concerning the level of the consumer price, our situation has deteriorated, but this is connected with external balance conditions and, to a certain extent, to the above mentioned achievements as well.

Our people know and understand the country's situation. Three and a half years after the 12th congress, it can really appreciate what an enormous task we undertook then, when, in addition to the necessary improvement of the external balance situation, we wished to maintain the standard of living. Today, the just social wish is even stronger that we should do everything possible to safeguard our attained results and achievements.

The great majority of people are willing to increase their performance, work in a disciplined way, and even make sacrifices if necessary, but they want to have a clear insight into the affairs of public life. They want to know and understand the objectives and meaning of our short-term and long-term tasks, the hoped-for results and the problems expected. It is the responsible duty of the party and the government to prepare, in accordance with this trust and understanding, realistic and forward-looking plans and to announce programs.

The finance minister's report has already dealt with some important aspects of the 1984 national economic plan and the prescriptions of the state budget. The possibilities that constitute the basis of the plan and the circumstances of the economic endeavors are now such that certain curbs must continue to be applied in the economy. However, the role of driving forces will increase, if only to a modest degree.

The modernization and strengthening of the economy is a process lasting several years, and it takes at least as long to achieve the first perceptible results as it takes to strengthen the balance. We are aware that, just as an economic policy that overemphasizes the rate of growth has its limitations, so does the economic policy that has been pursued since 1979, and which has created a balance mostly by curbing domestic consumption. Therefore, next year, while strengthening the balance, we must continue the economic building work based even more on the oft-mentioned factor of intensive development that is effective in the long run.

In preparing for next year, we have carefully analyzed the international economic and political forecasts. We have come to the conclusion that the economic revival, which is otherwise insecure and far from affecting all markets, can offer advantageous marketing opportunities for us only in certain areas and certain groups of products. We must continue to take into account the fact that most of the disadvantageous aspects of the international economic and foreign trade discrimination continue to be in force.

We have always held and continue to hold the opinion that we must always fulfill our financial commitments precisely. Carrying out this intention has sometimes presented problems during the last years owing to objective reasons -- this year's drought being one of them. Because of this, we sometimes had to take unpopular measures in order to maintain the planned balance.

We have analyzed the experience of those countries -- some 40 countries with several socialist countries among them -- that not long ago requested a rescheduling of their debts. International experience unequivocally shows that a country that requests this is deprived for a time of possible sources of credit. It is obliged to greatly reduce its imports, and this causes a serious disruption of the continuity of production and supply, and as a result, exports can be endangered as well. There can be a decline in consumption, and accumulation and development become even more difficult as a result.

Therefore, we must stick to the solution of concentrating our resources on the most important tasks and determining the goals of the people's economy plan for the next year on the basis of known, strictly balanced requirements. In the course of preparing the plan, we have analyzed two basic versions and several variants within these versions. We considered the key tasks of the remaining years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, and we looked into the future as much as we could. In the course of the planning work, the state organs and organs representing different interests have finally reached an agreement concerning the requirements and more important targets, but this -- understandably -- has been achieved with more difficulty than usual.

Mobility and Readiness for Action

With the changes so far known in the economic regulators, we wanted to lay the foundation of economic policy efforts. Adding to what has been said by Comrade Hetenyi, I must stress that we have strengthened two aspects of the regulations system in particular. First, mediating the balance requirements and maintaining the conditions for a high goods supply level, we have regulated the purchasing power both of the organizations pursuing economic activities and of the population. Second, an even more important aspect of the modification of regulations in 1984 is the fact that the elements contributing to a flexible adjustment in the market requirements and facilitating and encouraging development will play a more important role.

That is why we have modernized the amortization and reservation system, why we are improving the price system, and why we are increasing the percentage of expenditure on human labor in order to encourage an increase in productivity.

The units pursuing economic activity that voluntarily take upon themselves higher requirements can apply for price and wage regulations of a new type, more favorable for the collectives, and the units that increase their exports and rationalize their energy and material consumption can apply for different credit resources. We hope, as Comrade Istvan Szabo yesterday said he hoped, that these opportunities will be used mainly by enterprises and cooperatives that have been able to maintain their position so far in spite of more difficult conditions in foreign markets and domestic regulation and whose working collectives have preserved until today their trust and strength in development.

Concerning the people's economy plan and the regulators, the question is repeatedly asked: Is this amount of foresight sufficient for the national economy to develop according to plan for an entire year? In other words: Will we have to make changes during the coming year?

It is already apparent that we cannot expect effects next year that could assist us in reaching a palpably faster rate of growth. From many points of view, the situation is even more uncertain than before. Despite this, and even because of it, economic management needs greater mobility and more determined action. The mid-course measures and the reaction to unexpected developments could also have undesired side-effects, but the lessons of previous years show that an even greater problem will arise if action is not taken or if we are late in taking it.

In 1981, 1982, and 1983, we have been able to maintain the main line of development only by strictly following the economic conditions and achievements. We had to intervene in economic processes, applying not only limitations, but, for example, by voting a 1 billion forint financial credit to agricultural cooperatives stricken by the drought. It is our conviction that had this not been done our present plan would involve an economic and social recession. Therefore, we must also expect additional measures next year as we compare the plan targets with real economic processes. With better and more concerted work, government bodies will aim to introduce measures that are deductible and calculable on the basis of the plan's targets. We cannot promise an easy year, but we can promise more predictability and collective thinking.

An Urgent Task: Modification of the Structure

From the point of view of our economic achievements in 1984, we must make progress especially in modernization of the production structure and allocations and in reducing production expenses.

The structural modification is an urgent task in spite of reduced financial resources, and to achieve this, we must also take risks. It is a well known fact that several products of the Hungarian industry are of a medium technological and quality level -- this is true especially in the case of mass products of the machine industry, metallurgical, and light industry, and there is therefore, always the danger that our products will lose certain foreign markets or that their selling price will drop. The final consequence of both cases is the same: We will not be able to increase production and national income based on our own resources. That is why we must pay considerable attention to keeping pace in most important areas with technological developments and the increasing quality requirements, and to connect more closely targets of the balance improvement and the structural modification, targets that do not always fit harmoniously together.

Based on this connection, we must renew our efforts for broadening economic relations with the CEMA countries. Our cooperation amidst unfavorable world economic conditions is not only a stabilizing factor but it is the bearer of new qualitative possibilities, as well. In the years that have passed so far of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, we have seized every available opportunity to enlarge the foreign economic relations with the CEMA countries.

The importance of this is also expressed by the fact that the secure maintenance and even increase of imports of energy, energy carrier [horoozo] and raw materials from the Soviet Union is a fundamental interest of ours, since this makes a decisive contribution to the running of our industry and the uninterrupted supply of our population. Therefore, the product structure of our exports must be modified and adjusted to the ever more rigorous requirements of quality and modernity in such a way that the desire to sell and purchase based on mutual benefit, becomes more alive in our partners within CEMA, and this would at the same time serve the advancement of Hungarian industry, as well.

Unfortunately, our investment possibilities in the rapid renewal of the production structure have been limited for years. That is why many people ask us how it will be possible to modernize if investments continue to decline in 1984, too.

We consider justified the anxiety that the reduction in investments -- if we do not change the distribution rate -- may threaten the technologial development of the economy, and as a result, we may lag more and more behind world levels. In 1984 we have available precisely 220 billion forints for all the new investments and supplements of the people's economy. It is a considerable sum: almost one quarter of the entire people's economy income domestically available. It is important that this should serve not only the broadening of the standing means, but the means available for supplements should also serve the upcoming tasks of structural modification and modernization.

Therefore, we determined our tasks concerning the structural modification in such a way that the investments generally decrease selectively. We firmly wish to advance in certain development trends. Therefore, we face the challenge not with passivity but -- in concert with the long term development tasks -- we indicate the directions of advancement and deploy our forces there. In shaping the economic structure by means of investments we assign an important role to well-directed credits.

The entire investment provides 180 billion forints for the socialist sector. The larger part of this -- about 105 billion forints -- is enterprise and cooperative investments. One-third of the state investment of 75 billion forints is applied in the sphere of authority of the councils, this proportion showing a tendency to decline. The population, according to our accounts, spends 40 billion forints for housing and other investments, and this is already a considerably powerful resource for the development of the infrastructure.

The maintenance of our solvency also enables us to take advantage of favorable credits for carrying out our development tasks. We also wish to advance in this way the modernization of the industry structure, the increase of exports, the broadening of background industry products, and a better utilization of secondary raw materials.

In the framework of these program packages, we will be able to start enterprise investments of almost 5 billion forints next year. This will enable us, among other things, to raise to a higher level the quality of important products in the pharmaceutical industry, thus being able to market them under more favorable conditions. In the framework of the government program for energy rationalization, we count on the realization of an investment valued at almost 3 billion forints in 1984.

We continue carrying out the grain program. We take into consideration that many agricultural and food industry enterprises will apply for the credits available by competition.

In order to further increase the crop capacity of the fields and to lower expenditures, we are increasing methodically the quality of the crop-land, broadening the infrastructure of agriculture, and widening the storage and processing capacity. We have allocated some 3 billion forints of development aid for these targets, and the plan for the first time is setting a grain production target of 15 million metric tons.

Whether production and national income will increase next year or not depends largely on the outcome of expenditures. Expenses can be lowered in different ways: through more organized work, better utilization of working time, more up-to-date technology, a better and more efficient utilization of production bases, many-sided saving, and strengthening the cooperative relations between enterprises, to name just a few of the most important ways. There is no general solution in this respect; everywhere the tasks must be determined on the basis of the given situation and the local circumstances. There are many disturbing phenomena, however, which need review. For instance, in pleasant weather, on Fridays, starting at noon -- and here is the main point -- the electrical energy consumption of the capital's enterprises decreases by almost one-quarter compared to other days, and meanwhile the city vehicular traffic and the traffic on the highways leading out of town increase many times. The same can be observed Monday mornings, and this is the case probably not only in the capital. This slackness can be attributed neither to the foreign economic difficulties nor to the regulations.

The results achieved during the last years prove that it makes sense to confront such slackness and that the measures which we have taken so far have not been in vain. While national income increased 7 percent since 1978 -- these are data computed on a current rate -- energy consumption remained quantitatively unchanged. The consumption structure also improved considerably. For instance, between 1978 and 1983, the consumption of crude oil in the people's economy decreased 20 percent, and heating oil consumption decreased 40 percent, and in addition to this there has been a considerable saving in cement, iron, timber, and raw hide. These achievements played a role in the fact that the import requirements of our people's economy decreased considerably, by some 5 percent, without causing serious disruptions in production while there were, of course, periodic problems and minor disturbances.

On the other hand, the export capacity of the economy -- that is the proportion of exports to the national income -- has also improved considerably. This proportion made up an average of 40 percent in the first half of the seventies, it increased to 45 percent in the second half of the seventies, and has already exceeded 53 percent in 1983, and more than three-quarters of this is made up of industrial products.

One of the greatest achievements of our economic policy since 1979, of the adjustment to the new, external conditions of development, is the fact that, despite decreasing import rates, we were able to increase the export capability of the economy, and thus we considerably improved the balance of our foreign trade. But we must not think that, by economically managing imports, we have already exploited all possibilities. Still, without exploiting these savings, we are unable to enlarge the import of valuable technological products and necessary consumer goods.

Now, by necessity, we must pay considerable attention to short-term developments and tasks, but we must not disregard under such circumstances, either, preparation for the future. As an example of this, the preparation of a long-term social economic plan project until the year 2000 is under way, and in its framework, the long-term plan for the renewal of industry and its connected program is being shaped in the spirit of the directives of the National Assembly's last session.

Standard of Living, Living Conditions

The most sensitive area in the relations between society and the economy today is the development of the standard of living and living conditions. Everybody is understandably interested in the questions related to this, and nowadays people frequently connect the past aspects of the standard of living with those of the present.

For a long time, the standard of living has been continuously increasing, living conditions have perceptibly improved and become more balanced, and all this has had a political cohesive effect on our society. Therefore, when the 12th congress declared that the standard of living must be maintained in spite of much more difficult circumstances, and living conditions must be improved, even if at a modest rate, it strengthened at the same time one of the basic pillars of our policy's continuity. Ever since, in spite of all the pressing problems and unexpected obstacles, we have succeeded in achieving honorable results in this, even if they have not always been in accordance with our original intentions in every respect.

Our increased financial commitments in the last 2 years have made the maintenance of the standard of living considerably more difficult. As a result, as early as in the second and third year of the plan period we had to achieve rates of the foreign trade accounted in convertible currency that were originally planned only for the last year of the plan period. As we have already mentioned, there was no way for us to make concessions in this, because, by preserving our international solvency we indirectly maintain the standard of living as well. We must openly declare that we are forced to give priority to preserving our solvency in 1984 too. But it does not mean that we disregard domestic political stability as an important factor in determining our credit worthiness, and this depends, to no small extent, on the development of the standard of living. When we way that we continue to preserve our most important social achievements, we base this first of all on the conviction that the community of the working people can compensate for the lack of resources and the suffered losses with their increased sense of responsibility and zeal of renewal, and this must be served better in the future by the managing system.

We know, of course, that, while the real income as a whole remains at the current level, nevertheless certain families and even whole social groups will get into a more difficult situation. Today, for instance, for many young people who have always had to lay the foundations of their family life with great material efforts, from many points of view it is more difficult to start their career. We can also maintain the real value of pensions only in a more narrow circle. Amid such social problems we must also take into account that, when the real income of the people's economy does not increase, there is an increase in sensitivity towards the income differences in society, particularly towards outstandingly high income. At the same time it is becoming more and more accepted that -- and we must strengthen this -- we must take steps against only unjustified high income that is not supported by achievements, and not against higher income in general.

The provisions for the standard of living for 1984 in the budget expose emerged through many-sided consideration of the circumstances and correlations, and in concert with the economic conditions and possibilities. Our aim was to maintain the population's consumption and per capita real income at the level of the current year, to make sure that the level of the supply of goods is adequate, the assortment is improved, especially in industrial products, and to increase somewhat the sums for social allocation.

We have developed such a proportion and amount of income spending and consumer price increase as allows for differentiation according to achievements and is still acceptable from the point of view of the extent of the price increase.

We concentrate our measures concerning consumer prices -- in concert with our long-term conception and taking into consideration the steady social allowances -- to those goods and services that enjoy a high level of state support and whose increase in price contributes to an improvement of the market balance and an increase of supply. At the same time, we will more strictly demand next year that the organizations pursuing economic activity improve the management of their expenses, and we will block with our means any unjustified producer and consumer price increase. We are initiating a high-level legal procedure for suppressing dishonest economic behavior.

Although our economic conditions for 1984 do not allow for central social-political measures similar to the ones that have been taken in 1983, we wish to make sure that the effects of the measures on the prices of the most important consumer goods will be balanced at the best possible level in the case of the most needy strata of the population. This, together with the automatic measures already in force, will enable us to maintain the purchasing value of lower than average pensions and of family allowances, but, unfortunately, it will not enable us to maintain unchanged the income situation of all the families concerned.

The modified basic wage system and the opportunity to use more flexible wage regulation forms will offer advantageous incentive opportunities for organizations pursuing economic activity. We expect applications from those enterprises that export huge amounts and employ a great number of workers with special and high professional training. The new wage rates at the same time offer an opportunity for the enterprises to pay a better wage, in accordance with productivity, to beginners, creative economic and technical specialists and those who work in especially unfavorable conditions. In the interest of proper incentive for production in large plants, next years' plan contains a few central measures aimed at improving wage proportions, first of all for those who work in hot plants, in three shifts, or in 24-hour plants. These measures will be prepared jointly with the National Trade Union Council.

The fact that we can continue to carry out the central and local social and economic programs has a favorable influence on our life conditions. It is fortunate that the majority of the counties have achieved already at the end of this year the projected level in their own medium-term plan for the end of 1985 concerning the 5-6 indicators of the supply of the population, like: supply of nurseries and kindergartens, the development of classrooms for the general school, road and sidewalk construction, and widening the commercial network of units marketing every-day products; and the other indicators will be achieved at the beginning of the next year.

We Modernize the Economic Management

The lessons of recent years have also convinced us that we can move to a new course of development permanently only if we improve the organization of the economy and make use of the creative human energies in the most productive way possible. For all this, it is indispensible for us to modernize the system of management. It is only through this that we can ensure that the principles of the reform of 1966-68 will have a steady effect. At the moment we are approaching a larger modernization. After an adequate preparation, we plan to implement this in the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, starting in 1984 but concentrating on the changes for 1985. On the basis of the experiences of scientific research and every-day life, we have come to this conclusion: Further development in the 1980s requires primarily that we make the international markets' value judgements effective in a more consistent manner; strengthen, in a wide front, enterprise independence; and increase, at key points, the effectiveness of central planning and economic management. The comprehensive development of the system of economic management is not only an economic matter in the narrow meaning of the word, but also a social one, at least to the same extent. In other words, it is a chain of complex interdependence.

The accomplishment of certain larger measures and their durability greatly depends on the extent to which society and its various groups accept the guiding endeavors. In other words, to what extent they identify themselves with these.

Therefore, it is very important for us to think carefully about its effects, and work out in its institutions and methods, the social conditions of the further development and effective operation of the economic management. The government has approved a working program for the preparation of these tasks and its intention is that its ideas and more important proposals for the development of the system of direction should be offered for debate in the first half of 1984 to the committees of the National Assembly in order to join forces and formulate a forward-looking, national program.

In conclusion, I would also like to point out that well-known, but sometimes forgotten experience that, in more complex economic and social situations, there is always the danger of one-sidedness and simplification of the issues. If we see only the current difficulties, we make the social and economic forces that are capable of much more feel insecure, and thus we may exclude one or another from the possibility of development. And, if we only look forward towards further tasks, we might lull our sense of reality. The position of our party's Central Committee on next year's plan and budget directives takes into consideration both the current urgent tasks and the requirements of the future. The report in front of you has been prepared in this spirit. Symbolically speaking, it indicates for our society the direction in which, if sometimes through greater efforts, we can continue to advance without deviations.

Authorized by the MSZMP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, I support, with these thoughts and arguments, the bill proposed and ask the esteemed National Assembly to accept it as a basis for our next year's economic work.

MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON HUNGARIAN-SOVIET TRADE

AU301507 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Dec 83 p 5

[Text] The talks between the government delegations of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union ended in Moscow. The delegations signed the trade protocol between the two countries for the year 1984. Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade, spoke to MTI about the talks and the joint tasks for next year.

"Hungarian-Soviet economic relations have always played an important role in shaping our plans for the people's economy. An important prerequisite of our advancement is to sign such long-term and short-term agreements as are beneficial for both countries and contribute to the realization of the tasks stipulated by the plan. In the current world economic situation, the fact that the exchange of goods turnover between Hungary and the Soviet Union is to increase and reach R8.6 billion in 1984, is particularly important, and gives the country a great deal of security.

"First of all, I would like to point out that the Hungarian-Soviet trade turnover is expanding at a time when world trade is stagnating or even declining. The increasing volume of our reciprocal trade is significant and decisive both from a political and an economic point of view. The protocol just signed is in practice one chapter of the trade agreement for the years 1981-85, and other economic agreements. At the same time, it strengthens the remarkable achievements of the mutually beneficial economic cooperation achieved under the comprehensive program of development of the CEMA countries' socialist economic integration.

"I must add that the stipulations of the protocol are considered a basic program for 1984 by both signing parties. We agreed at the talks to continue to explore in the course of next year those areas where cooperation can be expanded and enriched with new elements. Thus, we are not speaking of a product-for-product relation, but much more than that: cooperation in production, technological life and every possible and mutually favorable aspect of the economy.

It was pleasant to experience already at the preparations and later in the course of the talks that open, friendly atmosphere that characterized the talks between the delegations. The issues discussed and the final result show that there is a mutual effort to understand each other's situation and to jointly search for solutions that can facilitate the advancement of our peoples' economies.

"The pattern of the R8.6 billion trade is extremely diverse. As far as Hungarian consumers are concerned, the energy and raw material imports will, of course, continue to be of decisive importance next year, too, and the Soviet machine industry imports will be considerable, too. To name just a few: 3,600 tractors, 4,000 lorries, 27,400 cars will arrive next year from the Soviet Union. We will purchase R33 million worth of metal-processing machines. And some important items for the population: 17,000 sewing machines, 40,000 refrigerators, and several other consumer goods like bicycles, portable TV sets and vacuum cleaners are also on our list of imports.

"Several more important aspects of our exports include: 7,600 Ikarus buses and R230 million worth of bus spare parts, telecommunications and computer engineering products, ships, floating cranes, farm machines, farm and food products, light industry products. The proportion of consumer goods is to grow in the deliveries of both countries.

"The increased volume presents us with increased requirements, as well. Our enterprises will need greater effort, more organized work and better achievements than this year in order to be able to fulfill the export obligations stipulated in the protocol. The products are important for both sides. The economy of today does not accept delayed and qualitatively inadequate deliveries, because this causes losses and damages and has consequences that are more difficult to repair than before, in a more relaxed world economic situation. It is necessary to stress this, because our agreements have been achieved through mutual trust and a desire to avoid a repetition in the future of this year's weaknesses, slowdowns, and inaccuracies.

"In conclusion, I would like to stress that the document signed in Moscow provides a firm basis for the planned further development of economic relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary. Those who are in charge of the fulfillment of the obligations will not have an easy time. Nevertheless, we must do everything possible to remain reliable trade partners of the Soviet Union in the next year. This is a decisive task for our economy."

BRIEFS

NON-HUNGARIAN-LANGUAGE BROADCASTS -- Nationality language broadcasts of the Hungarian radio will double next year. The German, Serbo-Croat, Slovak and Romanian programs which are on the air once a week now will be braodcast twice a week. It is a new thing that nationality programs will be broadcast in the evenings too. From now on nationality listeners will find the program preview in the radio paper written in their own mother tongue. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 31 Dec 83 LD]

JARUZELSKI INTERVIEW VIEWS PAST, FUTURE OF PPR

LD021650 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 1 Jan 84

[Interview with Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski by unidentified Polish journalists; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] I want to thank you, Comrade General, for agreeing to today's meeting, to our conversation. Like the majority of our viewers we know you from official statements, and also, infrequently, thanks to brief reports, we have an opportunity to watch visits to factories and the sincere, informal, and less official, more personal talks with workers. I suggest that we keep today's conversation in this mood, not an intervew but a conversation. General, are you taking an interest in your public image, and how do you assess it? Next to the descriptions of you as a patriot, a realist, a cautious, patient, moderate person, there are also descriptions such as hard, a dictator who resorts to repression.

[Jaruzelski] Excuse me please; in this respect I will also start with a rather frivolous assertion. The exercise of power is not a beauty contest, although nowadays such contests are very much in fashion. That is why if someone is burdened by this weighty duty of authority, he should be resistant to things that could provide an additional burden for his mind. But of course we all are only men, and no doubt one feels better being aware that at least some part of the community shares his views and supports his work.

Personally I value very highly, and am often quite moved by proof given to me in letters and other forms of recongnition expressed by citizens of our country for the leadership of the party and state of which I am a member. On the other hand, no doublt various views are unpleasant, especially when they are injurious, unjust. But I will admit that I have devleoped by now a lot of resistance to it. Quite a bit of time has expired, and one gets used to it. I am familiar with many good and not so good jokes about the Military Council of National Salvation. But it seems to me that it was not the croaking of these crows [WRON means crow in Polish] but the other ones crowing about the situation in our country, that the winter and the spring will not be ours, and many other things. Time passes. It is not getting worse, but things are improving slowly. This crow of ours did not croak, and those who tried to croak about a great calamity have in fact exposed themselves as men without imagination, to say the least.

We talk about a struggle, accord. This still remains the basic thesis. We will fight those who are damaging Poland, who damage the rebuilding of our life. At the same time we will do everything possible to win over to common action those who still bear in their hearts all kinds of bitterness and doubts, who disagree with many things, who are critical, if they do so out of good intentions. If this is going to serve Poland we invariably stretch out our hand to them, and we will always have it outstretched. We will be most patient on this issue.

[Question] General, 2 years ago I wanted to ask you this question. On 13 December 1981 I went by military car to the television center to announce your memorable speech to the nation. At that time I was full of fears about the immediate future. My generation had not yet had that kind of experience. hat were you thinking on that day? Does Poland on the first day of 1984 confirm the correctness of the road chosen then?

[Jaruzelski] This is a very difficult question, for the issue was exceptionally difficult, painful, even dramatic; but it seems that the 2 years that have passed, confirm the correctness of the decision. It was necessary to assume a great responsibility.

It was necessary, at the same time, to do everything possible to make those events as painless as possible; and, as a result, to stop that dangerous, absolutely avalanche-like course of events. Today many people in recalling that time -- this is human nature -- seems to tame it down, to present it in a rosy light, (?because) they are not always capable of assessing the whole complexity, the whole drama of that time. But if we recall accurately, not only people who supported me but those who frequently did not share and do not share our views were aware that something was in the air: that we were sitting on a volcano, that some great danger was threatening, that this was a mad rush to the precipice. If there had not been martial law, there would have been a state of war, internal turmoil, in the sense of the destabilization this could have caused in Europe. Poland is a big country, with a population of 36 million. Pershaps someone was interested in having a Polish Lebanon. Hence, that decision and its evaluation today in the light of the experience behind us has, I think, been fully confirmed. Maybe it is a big word, but I think that history will confirm it still more eloquently; and this is the fundamental reflection, the fundamental answer to that question.

[Question] During the past years many changes have taken place in Poland. They are continuing. At the same time many people mistrust these changes -- the sociopolitical changes. Many believe that Poland is limping instead of moving forward, and that the old methods of governing are returning at the lower echelons.

[Jaruzelski] Well, every word has its specific coloring. Personally, I interpret the word limping as a sad word, while for instance the word galloping is a joyful word, a serene one. However, I prefer limping forward to galloping backward. And such a thing has happened. We should look at the present from this angle. All the same, we are marching forward. Slowly, laboriously, overcoming immense difficultiies. But this is a one-way movement, an unequivocal movement, a determined movement, which is fully in line with the programmatic assumptions of the ninth congress, a congress of historical importance for Poland, for its future destiny. History will endorse it. This is in line with socialist renewal. And this is like a river that will flow in this direction irrespective of various shallows and whirls. But its course will always be from Biala Wiselka to Gdansk and not the reverse.

Now, the second part of the question, the extent of intervening phenomena. To what extent are there matters which disrupt and hamper? And where they are located? Of course, yes, There are no ideal processes. In social life everything progresses under determined divergencies. The divergencies are the driving power providing they do not assume an antagonistic form. And it seems to me that if we have a look at the people, including those in power in all its echelons, simply at people who are burdened by the same faults and virtures as the community as a whole, then we see that nobody is perfect. Maybe the angels are, but this is a different sphere. And this is why I consider that if there are -- and there difinitely are -- various phenomena which should be combated, and we are doing this and will continue to do so with all consistency, then we will not permit a revival of what brought such tragic consequences for our nation, both during the period of anarchy prior to 13 December and prior to August 1980, which inflicted such serious damage.

For that reason, as I say, we will do everything to see that there are the least possible number of these imperfections and that the bad phenomena are consistently combated. As is known, we are making many decisions that go in this direction. We are carrying on very open, frank criticism, self-criticism. There is probably no social force that assesses its mistakes as critically as the party and the people's authorities have done and are doing up to today. But at the same time, we are convinced that the road we have taken is the right one and we will not allow ourselves to be pushed off it and at the same time we will protect and defend those people who are building this road honestly.

[Question] I come into frequent contact with my contemporaries and I know that not all of them want to be passive and frustrated. They would like to take an active part in the life of the country, of their own work place. But they are surrounded by so many expectations, so much uncertainty, [word indistinct] worry about the material existence of families. What are our national chances and imperatives at the threshold of the new year?

[Jaruzelski] Pershaps we should reflect on whether Poland is a poor or rich country. On the surface -- I formulate this statement artificially -- it does not fully correspond to the question, but we will come back to that. I put it thus because there exist great (?misunderstandings) regarding the evaluation of the possibilities of our country, of the state, and of the economy. It seems to me that Poland is both a rich and a poor country. It is poor because we have inherited many centuries of backwardness. There are still traces of it in people's minds, in material, and in the economy -- 40 years is a short period of history, in spite of everything. Because we inherited terrible wartime destruction, although it is no longer visible today in its outward form, in every family it can still be felt. It can be felt in [word indistinct] the great expenditures, great burdens which we have had to bear on this account for years and, as a consequence, we were not able to channel many means for targets and solutions which countries less destroyed than Poland could. We are also poor in the sense of certain bad habits, certain weaknesses that are deeply rooted here, which need time to be effectively rooted out, overcome. The factors of our weaknesses could be multiplied still, but Poland is at the same time a rich country. It is a country with large natural resources, although their exploitation and extraction is more and more expensive and it is not true that everything is at the surface. There are often various kinds of sensations: I recall Karlino, which was to have supplied us fully with petroleum. Yet another Polish myth. But, all in all, we are comparatively rich in raw materials in relation to many other countries.

We are rich in an important part of our industry, which has reached an overall high standard under People's Poland. Also in some sections of agriculture. Above all, we are rich in cadres, in people. Splendid, educated people with high qualifications, with the famous Polish patriotism and selflessness. Now the issue is that the poor and the rich Poland clash, meaning that not all values inherent in our wealth are bing tapped in order to overcome our poverty, in particular the ones brought about by the sad events and deep decline of our economy in the course of the past few years, in particular in 1980-1981.

And this wealth we possess -- and I am using this word now in quotes -- constitutes our great reserve. Above all, the people could achieve better results by utilizing industrial, economic resources better. And when I refer to people, I do not intend to address this only downward. I realize that we are all responsible for this, both those managing, those whose management must improve all the time, and those who implement. And I think that, in a way, this supplies to answer to the question of whether and to what an extent we have come to resolve our problems, of where we are still not getting full satisfaction in this respect. And I think that in particular in regard to the young generation -- and my interlocutors represent that generation -- this provides at the same time a great opportunity. This provides a great opportunity to show that in this critical situation you can do better.

The absent ones are wrong. And at present part of the young people create the impression that they are keeping away, as if they are absent. I think that absence from the life of the country will place responsibility, above all, on those who will become its masters in a few or in several years, and who will run it. [as heard]

[Question] But General, our national chances are also defined to a great extent by the international situation, and it has recently become exceptionally worse. Even young people are afraid of war. Will our young men share the fate of their fathers and grandfathers?

[Jaruzelski] (?If a woman) talks about war, it is a good thing, for it means that there is great sensitivity to this issue, and rightly so. The situation is indeed serious. It has dangerously worsened. But it should be approached calmly, because there are forces sufficiently large and reliable that can prevent war. We are part of these forces. That is our great historic achievement, now known to Poland since the millenium -- secure borders, the reliable alliance with our great Soviet neighbor, our place in the Warsaw Pact. If we add to that the world peace movement, the genuine fear of war by an enormous section of Western society, all this allows us to look at these issues calmly. But this does not mean we are unconcerned. Modern means of waging war as is generally known, are dangerous because they can get out of control. The worsening of this situation, the growing tension moves such as the stationing of U.S. missiles in Western Europe, all this potentially creates a greater and greater danger. It exists.

It seems to me to be worth looking at this matter from the viewpoint of our Polish situation. Poland, as we know, has become the object of special forms of assault, of attack, because she solved, is solving, and will continue to solve her own problems. At the same time she has a significant location in Europe, so that any kind of tension or turmoil in our country is a factor that greatly increases danger on a wider scale.

The decisions of December 1981, among others, are a measure of our responsibility. They are linked with that sense of responsibility. This is also an opportunity to recall once again that, although these matters are frequently spoken about, it is never too much. How should the attitude toward Poland of some Western countries be assessed? I frequently make official statements on this subject from a platform. Today, in a conversation, perhaps in this situation there is an opportunity to permit oneself to put it more freely.

Besides everything else, it is insulting that Poland is still treated as a tool in the political game, that successive attempts are made to impose on us various internal solutions that are absolutely unacceptable to us.

I have spoken of various ultimatums by the U.S. Administration. There have been grotesque situations in which an offer was made to us to talk with various fisheries councils -- who, I am afraid, have trouble telling Poland from Paraguay -- about our fishing rights depending on their opinion on the level of respect for human rights in Poland.

Our parliament never preaches, for example, to the British Parliament or to the British monarchy about the observance of human rights in Ireland. We do not preach to the FRG about its laws, although they prohibit employment in pulbic services of persons who have improper political views opposed to state policy. Speaking of the FRG, there have been simply scandalous events, which in some sense are a function of the present weakness of Poland. We are the tree that is bowed, but we are straightening up; and we will remember who has tried to walk over us.

I cannot imagine that several years ago the representatives of the FRG Government would have made official statements that include claims to an alleged German minority in Poland of over 1 million; not to mention statements by the well-known revanchists.

There is another country, France, which I mention with regret, because the people of my generation were brought up in certain conditions and have had a lot of sentiment toward France. We absolutely cannot understand the attitude toward Poland of the present French Government. I am afraid, or rather I am convinced, that Poland will be the political Dien Bien Phu of the present French Administration. Let them come to their senses more quickly.

[Question] I would like to go back to the subject of youth. The comrade general already has said a lot on this subject, but there is still one problem. Young people are holding it against the generation in power that it is guided by its own views, its own experiences, fears, and worries. Young people want more to be said about future Poland, about Poland of the year 2000, their Poland.

[Jaruzelski] Yes, it is true that concerns of today, our reality, overwhelms our views of some problems of the more distant future, or at least our discussion of them. We think that in many cases this might have been understood as some kind of cover up, as a screen for difficulties felt by our society today, a screen of distant vision which can be drawn on freely, but which is unrealistic at present. That is why, while not neglecting work on long-term programs -- I want to say that the socioeconomic development of the country for 1985-1990 is far advanced and we will publish it and submit it for social consultation at the proper time -- one can build beautiful slogans on sand. But the most important thing is improvements today, because today is the foundation for tomorrow. I understand that this is perhaps less attractive or even less ambitious, but it is realistic.

I think that realism should be our optimism. Realism is the best optimism. And we are directed by that most of all. But I understand that the youth need vision, they need hope, they need the conviction that their future will be better. There is nothing more proper than to join this process and its active cocreation. One has to say that a considerable part of the young people understand this in this way. We are far from generalizing a critical evaluation of young people, which often occurs. There are a lot of young people deeply involved in the country's affairs -- authentic, patriotic, hardworking. Unfortunately, this is not a common phenomenon, but I don't blame the young people for that. I address this to us, to the generation of teachers. And it is our duty to bring the young generation up so that it will be able to cope with the duties that the young generation is facing.

Young people are often not susceptible to arguments; they are rebellious in their own way. This is a good thing, but up to a point, for after all, arguments have to be listened to. Karol Irzykowski once said jokingly that it would be worth adding another holiday to the Polish calendar: a day for listening to other people's arguments. In Poland people are reluctant to listen to others' arguments and patience and listening with attention should be particularly ascribed to young people, who perhaps like listening less. But we must speak in such a way that our words get through better and I think that we want to rebuild trust in this process in the party, in the authorities, and on the foundation of this trust to create a link between the generations. After all, the nation is not divided into isolated fragments. The nation is an entity, although it has various component parts, but that unity in supreme matters must be strengthened, and the supreme matter is Poland, its future, and we are all interested in that future being the best possible, the brightest possible and, above all, it should be a future for young people, for that generation, a (?new) life for these people. Retirement age is far away in 2015 or thereabouts, probably, for my interlocutors. This is the generation of my daughter, who [word indistinct] is 20, but we always try to understand young people, looking at (?them) both close-up and from a distance.

[Question] General, but we young people watch news films from the forties and fifties now with great [word indistinct] regret and a certain envy: with regret, that it was your generation that experienced that real enthusiasm, that great zeal, and energy. General, are such genuine emotions, a similar intensity, feasible in the coming years?

[Jaruzelski] There are undoubtedly certain things that cannot be repeated. A man cannot enter the same river twice. When he enters it for the second time the river is different because the water is flowing and the man himself has been changed, too. The same thing can be said about the fate of the nation. Each generation enters its adult life in a different historical situation, a situation that cannot be repeated or, at any rate, cannot be fully repeated. May it not have to be repeated. The generation to which I belong experienced exceptionally dramatic times and it is impermissible to allow it to be repeated to any extent at all. However, are there no chances to find romanticism in the tasks facing the young?

We have been historically conditioned -- our grandfathers did a lot to promote this -- that there are very many romantic features in our mentality, in the mentality of the Poles. It is a shame that there are fewer of those positivist features. These would be even more useful now. That is why today's situation, when the country is faced with great, difficult, and fascinating tasks, where the country has to be extricated from certain situations requires a very special stance and devotion. The appearance of such stances would be an expression of special patriotism, although in different historical conditions, but perhaps as monumental as the rebuilding of Warsaw from ruins and the rebuilding of many other Polish cities, and as great as carrying out these great changes that took place in the forties and early fifties.

These changes have been rightly called revolutionary ones. Let us pose a question: Is it possible to talk about changes of a revolutionary nature today, too? Yes, I think so, because revolution means change, a change for the better, a change that will be as profound as possible, as fundamental as possible, and fast. Poland needs such changes in the material sphere, in the sphere of thinking. This, of course, must take place on the basis of socialism, which is a politcal system of social justice and which is the most progressive idea, although in our Polish conditions this idea has not always been implemented as much as we wanted. It is important that the new generation does it better and in a more effective way. This could be a basis for such a romantic effort, I shall not hesitate to put it in such terms.

[Question] Profound respect for social justice, law, and democracy is in the nature of Poles. At the same time, there is a lack of a satisfactory, firm, protest against social evils, lack of good management or arrogance. How could you, General, explain this contradiction?

[Jaruzelski] Yes, indeed, there is that discrepancy. One should even be surprised, for after all there is the well-known proverb: Do as you would be done to. It often seems that people do things to spite each other. Somebody is arrogant in a shop but cannot bear to be treated badly in the post office, and so forth and so on. (?This applies) to some offices as well. So, we have that discrepancy, a divergence from certain correct slogans and postulates. We have expectations of others, but do not always apply them to ourselves. This is a matter of certain bad habits, which were once summed up in a very spiteful joke -- you probably know it -- about hell, in which there is a Polish cauldron, in which the sinners are roasting. There are no police to see that no one gets out of the cauldron. Why? Because if one of them tries to poke his head out of the cauldron, the rest of the Poles drag him back in by the leg. This is a very sad joke. It did not originate in our time. It is older than socialism. There is a serious problem in our mentality which we should root out. It is a matter of humanism; a matter of interpersonal relations; a great, (?real) problem.

But it would not be good for us to concentrate our attention on national flaws, which are the burden of various generations, because in the first place there is no nation without faults, without definite, specific characteristics. We are a nation like many others and ascribing to us some mystical properites is completely unncessary and in fact sidetracks the basic tasks facing Poland. On the other hand, it is necessary -- and I say this not with the aim of any kind of official squaring of accounts, but with a full awareness, a certain knowledge of this very thing -- that our nation, in the most difficult moments, not only those in distant history, for everybody knows about that, but up to the present day, shows a genuine sense of responsibility regarding the seriousness of the reception of martial law, which was after all such a difficult and shocking act, and a sense of responsibility in face of those burdens, those difficulties that almost every Polish family feels and that genuine patriotism that is expressed in the profound bond with our best tradition. One could multiply these traits and I take this opportunity, when the citizens of our country are listening to us and watching us, to stress this with full force and in the conviction that it would be considerably harder for us to overcome those difficulties that are still piling up before us, for [words indistinct] the total unambiguous conviction that there are difficulties and will be for a long time; but if we approach them calmly, it is because we believe in our nation, in its intelligence, in its patriotism and sense of responsibility. This is, it seems to me, a source of much hope and faith in the future.

[Question] General, in preparing programs devoted to social issues, I invite older people to take part in my television programs -- old age and other pensioners, disabled, war veterans. They are wonderful people who are aware of their life achievements and who welcome old age with dignity. However, they are often accompanied by worries about the material side of old age. Often these people are very poor. Will the authorities treat these issues with justifiable concern?

[Jaruzelski] First of all, let me thank you for the question asked by a young person. This provides evidence that there is sensitiveness for problems that are so serious and difficult. Older people -- the old generation -- deserve respect. Their lives, their young years, fell in the most difficult times. Every brick in Warsaw is the work of their hands. Every piece of the pavement and every planted tree shows this. This is the case throughout Poland. Not to mention those who fought for an independent Poland and who fell and gave their lives for it. Hence it is our duty, not only the official one but also the moral duty, to respect the older generation as much as possible against the problems now in existence. However, undoubtedly there are limits to what we can do. These limits are set by the economic state of our country. As is well known, to multiply colorful pieces of paper for the public's disposal, including the older people, too, would in effect deepen their suffering. And so the condition for improvement in the old people's and the younger generation's existence -- which we have spoken about already -- is improvement of the economic situation. But also, there is no doubt that even in the present situation and under the present conditions we have to do everything to help those who deserve it. We do not think about this. The Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth is concerned with this. You are probably familiar with that movement's initiatives in this area. Trade unions care, and so do the party and the government. We shall do everything to create a shield for those social groups that find themselves in the most difficult conditions -- including old and other pensioners -- and project them from the most painful burdens of the present situation, including the familiar planned prices changes. We intend to speed up the co-called updating of old age and other penions and although there will be no noticeable improvement because we cannot afford it at present we shall prevent the situation from deteriorating. [sentence as heard] We have to think about this and, certainly, this is a very important issue socially.

[Question] General, young people often do not know the course the Polish vessel is following, as one might say. They have no awareness of history and are often confused by the discrepancy between words and actions. It is probably the lack of cohesion of the system of upbringing: on the one hand there is home, then school, and then the workplace, and each pulls its own way. Recently [word indistinct] young people in military uniforms [words indistinct] their attitude probably gave rise to general recognition. (?It emerges), therefore, that a good system of upbringing does exist, or perhaps it is just a matter of discipline?

[Jaruzelski] Above all, thank you very much: It is very nice for me that you assess young people in uniform so highly. I share that assessment entirely, not because they are wearing that uniform and I have strong emotional links with the Army, which will remain until the end of my days, but because in fact -- using young people in the Army as an example, and that was my main field of observation of that generation -- I have the right to say that young people [word indistinct] as well brought-up, well guided, and capable of the most beautiful, noble actions and deeds. Many elements comprise this [word indistinct] definitely the discipline, which you spoke about. The army creates a certain discipline, a definite framework, a definite order in the collective which even makes a weak person into a stronger one, a better one.

We have after all a beautiful tradition of arms. We draw on the best values of that tradition: progressive, humanist, patriotic; but we already have today a rich tradition of our own new People's Army -- whose 40th anniversary we celebrated recently -- which shaped both the specific character of the professional cadre, strongly linked with the nation and therefore also with the soldier, that does not create a distance between the commander and the subordinate in the sense of an impassable frontier. This is an Army in whose regulations there appear the words: Soldiers are campanions-in-arms. And, we add: Soldiers are brothers to each other. Therefore personal relations and, at the same time, the close contacts that the Army has with society, the many and diverse kinds and forms of action for the benefit of society in various spheres, make the young soldier a participant in a great social progress, an active participant. It is a very important factor in upbringing; and this is at the same time the best proof that by this kind of behavior and action it was possible to achieve -- even in the short space of time of 2 years -- very good results. (?I want) to stress one category of young people, but a little older -- I don't know, perhaps you, too, have gone through that school: the year-long service at so-called officer or reserve officer cadet colleges. A considerable proportion of young men undergo this training after graduating from a higher education establishment. On the completion of these cadets courses they become officers of the reserve forces, either immediately or after a while. We are very pleased that these young people -- who after all have been formed by the higher education establishment, by certain achievements and experiences of their lives -- those people who come to the Army for a short period of time, for a year's service, adapt very quickly to the environment and fulfill a very positive role. They are usually, as a rule, commanders of lower level teams and units. As far as I know they work effectively and efficiently on various projects of civil life that have been entrusted to them.

[Question] And now the last question and the last problem: I would like to return to the memorable speech by the comrade general in December 1981. There is an excerpt: We want Poland to be great: great in its achievements, culture, forms of social life, its position in Europe. The only road to that aim is socialism accepted by the public and enriched by experiences of life. We shall build such a Poland. We shall defend such a Poland, too.

These words appealed to hope, they gave hope. What would the general say to gladden the hearts?

[Jaruzelski] To gladden the hearts -- these are memorable words. Maybe it is worth recalling that they originated when Poland was enslaved, when there was no Polish state and when it was necessary to gladden the hearts with hope, with recalling the great past, events that would support this hope. After all, today we are in a totally different historical situation. There is Poland; a Poland that is independent and sovereign, modern, despite all its problems and difficulties. There is Poland whose borders are more advantageous than ever before in history. Poland has all the historical chances today.

We cannot treat this slogan as an alarm slogan, as it were, a slogan used by a drowning man, but rather as a slogan, a declaration, and an opportunity for such development and restructuring of our lives that would be most beneficial for Poland. If we use this phrase, we want Poland to be great, then I want it to be understood as broadly as possible that we want a Poland that would be rich in every respect, in all these values that are most appreciated, that is, the nation's cohesion around the most fundamental aims facing it through an increasingly perfect form of social life in which various faults and weaknesses of various kinds, about which we have already spoken today, will be overcome better than previously. The greatness of the country is also expressed in its purity. Again, I am talking in the broadest terms.

And, finally, we want Poland to be great in the economic sense, in the material sense, in the sense of adopting all that is most progressive in technology and in organization, all that really counts in the world, all that determines a country's significance, its capability, and what kind of partner it is. We have friends and allies. We have rebuilt our position in the alliance. We matter in it. We are receiving the aid that is so important to us. We shall continue to rebuild this position in the world. We are extending contacts with developing countries.

Recently I said during the Miner's Day celebrations in Zabrze that today those who wanted to impose isolation on Poland ought to feel isolated themselves. They remain in the minority. They are late. I believe in such a great Poland. We shall build such a great Poland, taking advantage of the wonderful historical foundations provided by former generations for us and of all that will be built by your generations. Poland has to be great, in the best, not megalomaniac, but in the best meaning of the word.

[Question] Comrade General, we thank you for the time you have spent with us. We thank you for granting this opportunity for discussion. I would also like to thank you in that the interview's character was as personal and informal as we intended. Thank you very much.

[Jaruzelski] And maybe in summing up I shall abuse your patience and as this is a television program, I would like to take the liberty thus to convey best new year wishes to all compatriots. I wish you lots of health, happiness, and success of all kinds and, above all, assurance that our homeland, our country, in 1984 will take a new step toward its greatness.

BALCER ADDRESSES SEJM ON ECONOMIC REFORM

AU301333 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Dec 83 p 5

["Summary" of speech by Lukasz Balcer, Sejm deputy for the SD, at the 21 December session of the Sejm in Warsaw: "Changes in the Economic Reform Regulations"]

[Text] In the name of the Commission for Workers Self-Management in Enterprises, the Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances, and the Legislative Commission I have the honor of presenting their position on the government draft legislation concerning changes in some economic reform laws. These changes concern prices, taxation of socialized enterprises, the fiscal economy of state enterprises, the socioeconomic planning, and the banking law. In addition, we propose to change the law dated 28 July 1983 on special legal enactments during the period of overcoming the socioeconomic crisis, to modify some other laws, and to cancel the law dated 28 December 1957 on deliveries, work, and services for state agencies.

Regarding the economic reform, which has been approved by the Sejm, it has been decided that the extremely difficult conditions under which the reform began to be implemented and is being implemented call for the application of solutions that would be temporarily valid in 1982-83. This has been necessary in order to overcome the profound imbalance and structural disproportions of the economy. The years in question have laid bare the imperfections of the implementation of the reform, which has made it necessary to introduce corrections and the necessary instruments.

In this connection the government has now asked for changes in some regulations in view of the fact that it is possible to curb the extent of the temporary solutions or to improve many instruments of the reform. The individual changes proposed vary in their importance, but their general feature is that they do not affect the directive principles of the reform, but concern the instruments of implementation.

Most changes will be carried out in the taxation of the profits of the socialized enterprises and in the elements of the fiscal economy of the state enterprises. Both the government proposals and the attempts to improve them -- these improvements have been worked out by government representatives and by Sejm deputies -- are consistent with the present state of our knowledge and experience. The Sejm commissions have authorized me to propose that the changes in question should be made and that the draft law should be adopted.

One of the more important changes concerns income taxation. The government draft proposes that the present progressive taxation (which differs according to the profitability of enterprises) should be replaced by proportional income taxation amounting to a standing rate of 60 percent of the verified overall profit increased by unjustified costs and losses. However, since switching over to new principles of taxation will result in violent changes in the fiscal situation of economic units, the government draft law proposes additional forms of toning down those results. One such form is a temporary correction of and a reduction in the income taxation payment. The economic units in which the share of 1983 progressive taxation (not augmented by concessions) does not exceed 40 percent of the verified overall profit would have to pay lower taxes in 1984-86. The general direction of proposed changes is supported by the Sejm commissions. This support is for proportional taxation (or linear taxation) involving the same taxation rate and for gradual taxation increases to the level of this rate. However, the Sejm commissions are for an easier introduction of the 60 percent rate of income taxation and propose that lower income taxation should be paid also in 1984-86 by the economic units in which the share of income taxation in the 1983 profits amounts to 45 percent.

The progressive income taxation used in 1982-83 has created differences in the level of taxation and the fiscal situation in economic units. That is why it is right and proper to switch over to the new taxation principles more gradually and with fewer hardships than originally intended.

The government draft law introduces a crucial change in the principles of financing the activities of industrial associations. In line with the present regulations, the expenditure to support those associations is counted among the costs of enterprise' performance. The government draft law envisages that the expenditure to support the obligatory associations is included in the costs of enterprises' performance, but the expenditure to support voluntary associations would have to be met from enterprises' profits to be shared. Proposing this solution, the government also proposed that a period should be fixed during which enterprises and associations would be able to adapt themselves to new conditions. That is why the fiscal economy law provides for financing the 1984-85 performance of voluntary associations on the present principles. However, the Sejm commissions decided that the implementation of the economic reform in this regard does not require the application of temporary principles for such a long period -- up to the beginning of 1986. That is why the commission report proposes that financing of voluntary associations should continue on the present principles only to the end of 1984. The performance of voluntary associations must result from the real interest and needs of economic units. The proposed solution curbs the performance of the voluntary associations that do not produce favorable results for member enterprises.

Another crucial correction concerns the principles of the amortization of fixed assets. The law on the fiscal economy in state enterprises stipulates that temporarily in 1982-83 the amortization of fixed assets and nonmaterial and legal values is shared between enterprises and the state budget. The government has now proposed that the principles of the division of amortization should be valid up to 1990. Depending on the kind of enterprise, amortization deductions would be credited to the central budget or to the local budgets.

This issue was extensively discussed during the debate on the necessary changes and improvements in the mechanism of the reforms. It was pointed out that amortization should remain in enterprises and that the transfers of parts of it to the budget meant that it was wrong to temporarily suspend the implementation of this important systems-type principle. The Sejm commissions developed a correction in line with which the amortization of fixed assets and nonmaterial and legal values that are created after 1 January 1984 exclusively with enterprises' own funds are not to be shared out. This solution takes to account to a great extent the proposal that the amortization of fixed assets should be left in enterprises.

The draft law is correct in envisaging the cancellation of the law dated 28 December 1957 on deliveries, work, and services for state agencies. This law is hindering the implementation of the economic reform and has curbed the independence of enterprises.

The draft law authorizes the Council of Ministers to define the principles and procedures of competitive contracts signed between budgetary units and enterprises with the units of the nonsocialized economy. The draft also empowers the Council of Ministers to oblige state enterprises, the enterprises in which the state treasury has a share, and other organizational units that receive subsidies to use the system of tenders when signing contracts with nonsocialized enterprises for deliveries, work, and services. The proposal submitted by the Sejm commissions seeks to ensure that economic units have the right to sign contracts on small-scale work or services without having to use the system of tenders.

The proposal states that the Council of Ministers has the right to impose such an obligation on enterprises, but must also define the principles and procedures of contracts by tender. This seems to us to be socially right, especially in view of the fact that there is a shortage of contractors who would perform small-scale and yet most necessary work and services. The Sejm commissions believe that legal enactments in the case of this issue are undesirable.

I ask the House to adopt the law on changing some of the laws that introduced the economic reform, including the changes proposed in the report submitted by the Commission for Workers Self-Management in Enterprises, the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances, and the Legislative Commission.

PZPR POLITBURO DISCUSSES PRICES, OTHER TOPICS

LD311222 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 31 Dec 83

[Text] Warsaw 30 Dec -- The Political Bureau of the PUWP CC today examined the results of the national consultation on food price rises. It said that it is necessary to report to the nation broadly early in January on the results of the consultations as well as the conclusions and proposals which have been received [words indistinct] concept of price rises.

With special care the Political Bureau considered the living problems of the elderly and families with many children. The Political Bureau called for an acceleration of efforts to complete the comprehensive reform of the old age and health pensioning, development of forms of welfare aid, and of part-time, homework, and other forms of additional employment enabling people to earn more.

An improvement in the living standards of the nation depends first of all on better and more productive work, stressed the Political Bureau pointing out that this will be facilitated by improvement of the factory systems to develop proper motivation for work, under which wages would be more closely related to the effects of work, as well as by the consistent implementation of modified solutions of the economic reform. The Political Bureau urged a consistent struggle against waste and inefficiency, profiteering and bad quality of production. It said that the government-trade unions debate on the price rises contributed many concrete proposals for ways of checking price growth and improving economic efficiency. The proposals produced by the trade unions must be thoroughly considered in analyzing the outcome of the price rise consultations, stressed the Political Bureau.

The Political Bureau assessed the advancement of implementation of the decisions taken by the PUWP CC 13th plenary meeting and the tasks contained in the related work schedule. Work schedules -- at the central and voivodship levels -- provide for a systematic and convincing popularization in the entire society of the problems taken up by the 13th plenary session of the Central Committee. This task is performed by the local party bodies and ideological front links. This work should intensify during the preparations for a national PUWP conference of delegates, stressed the Political Bureau. It also examined the agendas of its sessions scheduled for the first six months of 1984.

Next, a conference of the members of the Political Bureau and the CC Secretariat with the first secretaries of voivodship committees and the heads of the CC departments was held with PUWP CC first secretary, Gen of the Army, Wojciech Jaruzelski as chairman. The subject of the meeting was an evaluation of the situation in Poland and inside the party, a review of how the resolutions taken by the recent plenary sessions of the Central Committee are carried into effect, intraparty and socio-economic problems, and the party tasks for the near future.

CHANGES IN TAX, FINANCIAL LAWS TAKE EFFECT

LD021805 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 2 Jan 83

["Key Modifications to Economic Reform Take Effect" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 2 Jan -- With practical effect from today, a new act changes some of the acts governing the introduction of Poland's economic reform, with a new tax and new ways in prospect of financing industrial associations being chief tools designed to enforce real efficiency and curb bureaucracy at the industrial enterprise level.

A major correction is income tax, replacing the hitherto progressive tax (varied depending on an enterprise's profit) with a proportional income tax which will now stand for an across-the-board 60 per cent of the so-called verified balance profit augmented by unjustified costs and losses. Some of the enterprises where progressive tax in 1983 did not exceed 45 per cent of the profit will pay less new tax for some time.

The new act also substantially changes the principles and financing associations of industrial branches which have so far been covered by enterprises' operational costs. Beginning with 1985, industrial associations will be financed from the profit which the enterprises will keep for themselves. The enterprises will also keep the whole of depreciation allowances on fixed property acquired after January 1, 1984. Previously, they shared the allowances with the state budget.

JABLONSKI ATTENDS ZBOWID MEETING IN WARSAW

LD302220 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] A meeting of the Supreme Council of the Union Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBOWID] was held in Warsaw. Henryk Jablonski was in the chair and Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the PRON National Council, attended the meeting. This year's ZBOWID activity was assessed, the plan for next year was approved, and preparations for next year's ZBOWID Congress were discussed. The meeting was summed up by Henryk Jablonski, who said, among other things: Every member of ZBOWID must be in the first ranks of fighters against the threat of war and should act for the security of his nation. We must use all opportunities in order constantly to forge generally declared verbal patriotism into deeds.

CORRESPONDENT GRANTED WHITE HOUSE ACCREDITATION

LD310004 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] Following more than 8 months wait a correspondent of the POLISH PRESS AGENCY has finally been granted accreditation to the White House in Washington.

TRADE MINISTER NESTOROWICZ ENDS PRC VISIT

LD021316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 2 Jan 84

[Text] Foreign Trade Minister Tadeusz Nestorowicz has ended his visit to China. He had talks with the ministers of mining industry, machine industry, electronic industry, and with the leadership of the Ministry of Metallurgy. Attention was drawn to the participation of Poland in modernizing the Chinese mining and nonferrous metals industries, transport, and machine and metallurgy industries.

The foreign trade enterprise Copex signed an agreement with Chinese firms for the delivery of sophisticated mining equipment, mining combines, and fire-extinguishing equipment for collieries.

FRG POLICY GIVES IMPRESSION OF 'SCHIZOPHRENIA'

LD011526 Warsaw PAP in English 1521 GMT 1 Jan 84

["Bonn Launches 'Legal Aggression' Against Poland" -- PAP headline; by PAP correspondent Juliusz Solecki]

[Text] Bon 31 Dec -- Contrary to the wave of official assurances about the readiness for dialogue and cooperation with East European countries which culminated in the last few days, the so-called Bonn's Eastern policy still leaves such to be desired and even may arouse totally justified fears and suspicions. Ever more signals testify to a peculiar double-track nature of this policy which, on the one hand, propagates slogans about the need for normalization and peaceful coexistence and, on the other, not only makes it its objective to "unite Germany" and propagates the thesis on an alleged continuous existence of the German reich within its boundaries of 1937 and the provisional character of frontiers but also supports the U.S. policy of conducting talks from the position of force. This cluster of contradictory goals sometimes creates an impression of political shizophrenia.

The recent statement by secretary of state in the Bonn Foreign Ministry, Alois Mertes on an alleged German minority in Poland quite clearly attempts to make the state of relations with Poland dependent on Poland's consent to West German interpretation of the treaty on bases of normalization of mutual relations signed in December 1970 and on issues of state citizenship. In spite of the fact that an attempt at such a "legal aggression" is neither the first nor, as it seems, the last one, it was given particular significance by the fact that it was signed by the acting secretary of state.

The statement by Alois Mertes indicates that the new government coalition parties in Bonn either try to find a pretext to further freeze the process of normalization of relations with Poland or lost [as received] the last traces of political realism and think that Poland, which is struggling to overcome internal crisis, "has ripened to make concessions" to West German revisionism. In both cases this policy not only is extremely short-sighted and takes hope for reality but primarily is extremely dangerous.

JARUZELSKI AWARDED DIMITROV JUBILEE MEDAL

LD301825 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party Central Committee and premier, has been awarded the jubilee medal marking the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgiy Dimitrov by the Council of State of the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria. Members and deputy members of the Politburo and secretaries of the PZPR Central Committee have also been awarded the medal. The presentation was made by Bulgarian Ambassador Georgi Georgiev.

AGERPRESS REPORTS CEAUSESCU INTERVIEW BY BORBA

AU301040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0915 GMT 30 Dec 83

["Interview granted by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Yugoslav newspaper BORBA" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/12/1983 -- In this interview granted on December 22 with the head of the foreign policy section of Yugoslav newspaper BORBA, Bogdan Decermic, which is released in Bucharest, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu refers to the salient features of the road covered by Romania to achieve the national independence of the modern state, the results won by the Romanian people in their country's economic and social development, the Romanian-Yugoslav relations, approaching also some current international issues.

The Road Traversed by Romania Toward the National Independence of the Modern State

Not long ago, we celebrated the 65th anniversary of the foundation of the unitary Romanian national state. It was an occasion to review the fights waged by the Romanian people against foreign domination, for preserving and developing the sovereignty, Romanian peoples entity and for creating the Romanian nation and then the unitary national state.

A general feature of the Romanian peoples development is the fact that from ancient times until the modern epoch the population inhabiting this land and then the Romanian people always worked to preserve their own being and resolutely fought against foreign domination -- against the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian empires in particular.

Even in the hardest of times, the Romanian principalities preserved a certain autonomy and were -- as is well-known -- a strong support to the Balkan peoples in the fight against the Ottoman empire. I should only mention the fact that Greece's liberation fight started on Romanian land and that Bulgaria's liberation organizations, its combat units included, were organized and started from the Romanian territory, that in the war for winning its national independence, Romania took an active part in Bulgaria's liberation too. Likewise, there are many common moments in the fight of the Romanian and Serbian peoples, as well as of other peoples in Yugoslavia.

I should like to place particular emphasis on the fact that it was only the revolution of social and national liberation, the passage to socialist construction that ensured Romania's full independence, the definitive liquidation of any kind of imperialist domination and allowed our people to pass on to the Romanian nation's development in new forms, to the consolidation and development of the homeland's independence and sovereignty.

The Romanian People's Achievements in the Years of Socialist Construction

A highly important role is played by Romania's powerful socio-economic development in the years of socialist construction. Today the production of the Romanian industry is by over 50 times larger than before World War II. We have powerfully developed new industrial branches in decisive sectors providing for the manysided progress of the national economy and the strengthening of the homeland's independence. In the last 20 years alone, the Romanian industry has registered an annual growth rate of 12 percent or so. More than two thirds of Romania's fixed assets have virtually been accomplished over these years.

On this basis, the national income has powerfully increased -- by some 15 times -- and we have also ensured the means needed both for the country's development and for a steady rise in the material and spiritual standards of the whole people.

We have built numerous sociocultural units. Some 150,000 flats were built annually in the last ten years. As a matter of fact, anyone can see that industrial, farming and sociocultural units are being erected all over the country. In fact, one of Socialist Romania's major achievements is the action taken for a most adequate distribution of the production forces in the territory and for the industrial development of all the country's zones. We set out from the fact that the balanced development of the production forces in all countries and zones of the country is a prerequisite for the provision of the conditions needed to raise the standard of living and civilization of the masses, to ensure true, actually full equality of rights of all working people, of all the country's citizens, irrespective of nationality.

Now, when we are making preparations for the 40th anniversary of the victorious anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, our achievements are outstanding, our people has scored remarkable results in all domains, which proves both its creative capacity and, especially, the might of socialism, the fact that a people become master of its destiny can build, over a short period of time, a new, free life and ensure its welfare, happiness and independence.

On the Thesis of the State of Revolutionary Worker Democracy

In the years of socialism Romania has covered a long road towards its material and spiritual development, as well as towards the implementation of deep-going social and political changes. Analysing all these great achievements and revolutionary changes we have concluded that they are an outcome of the creative application of general truths to Romania's specific conditions, of the application of the principles of scientific socialism, and dialectical and historical materialism according not to cliches but to realities, to the nature of our people.

I wish to point out that we have always believed that, no matter the conditions in one country or another, the general principles of scientific socialism and the general truths must permanently guide any revolutionary party. However, while following them, it must for no moment ignore the specific conditions, the historical and social reality, the nature of one people or another. It is only by harmoniously blending general principles with the specific conditions in each country that socialist development can be successfully achieved and the advance to communism ensured.

It is in this light that we also viewed the forms of management and organization in our state. Building the socialist society and passing on to the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society, Romania has covered several historical stages. In fact, the proletariat ceased to exist as such the very moment it won political power and turned into the leading class of the Romanian society. The proletariat turned into a new class, master of the means of production, became a working class with altogether new features, different from those of the proletariat. Therefore, from this point of view alone, the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat can no longer be considered valid either in Romania or in any country that built socialism.

Moreover, we also took account of the fact that in between the two world wars a fascist dictatorship was instituted in many countries, that to many peoples the very notion of dictatorship became an expression of lack of rights, of the policy of domination over and oppression of other peoples.

That is why, taking account of the changes wrought in Romania, as well as of international circumstances, we considered it necessary to draw the corresponding conclusions and renounce a thesis which did, at a certain time, have its role, but which -- let us say it openly -- was later on distorted from the way it had been originally thought by the classics, by Marx and Engels and even by Lenin.

We are building socialism in conditions in which the working class is the leading class in society. However, the working class does not act by itself, but in alliance and in close unity with the peasantry, with the intelligentsia, virtually with all the social categories in society. We are building socialism in conditions not of limitation but of continuous development of the democratic forms of the masses participation in running all sectors of activity.

If I were to refer to the new, democratic forms of management in Romania I should first of all stress the fact that we have achieved a broad framework for the participation of the working class, of all classes and social categories in the management of all sectors of activity. We have workers councils -- which are democratic management bodies -- in all units. The general meetings of the working people have become the highest decision-making bodies within which the working people in all sectors debate and decide on all the problems related to the country's economic and social development.

We have created a broad, nation-wide system of participation in the management of society -- and I refer to the congress of the working people and the congress of agriculture which are held every five years and bring together some 11,000 people each, the National Council of the Working People, elected by the congress -- which includes over 1,500 people -- the National Council of Agriculture -- another 1,100 people -- which are bodies that decide on the activity and debate all the problems of our state's home and foreign policy. We have a congress of peoples councils which also elects a chamber of the peoples councils as a legislative body deciding on all the questions pertaining to the country's development by territorial units. We have a Council of Socialist Culture and Education, a congress of culture, a congress of education, as well as other forms providing for a virtual, active participation of all categories of working people in making decisions regarding the country's development, our state's home and foreign policy.

Certainly, the democratic forms of the state have also developed as concerns both the Grand National Assembly and the local bodies. All this has led to a broad, democratic transformation of our state -- and substantiates the thesis concerning the state of revolutionary worker democracy.

Economic Preoccupations

All the countries of the world have been hit by the recession, some countries to a greater extent and others to a smaller extent. Most of all, it has affected the situation of the developing countries and widened the gap between rich and poor countries. To this I should also add the financial policy and, more particularly, the policy of exceedingly high interest rates which have played a major part in sharpening the economic crisis and worsening the situation of the developing countries.

The economic crisis has indeed borne negatively on Romania too, but, as I mentioned at the national conference of the party, to this we should add certain contradictions -- as we called them -- which emerged in the Romanian society, certain disproportions in the development of some branches of the national economy. We have advanced on a large front and we have advanced considerably.

In this process, a certain disfunction of certain sectors of activity appeared, which was not an outcome of a lack of foresight, of inadequate planning, but a consequence of the unfulfillment of the provisions and plans set in appropriate conditions. More particularly I have in view the arrears in the field of energy and the development of the country's own base of raw materials, which made things difficult for us, as well as the fact that, in some sectors we relied on imports too much.

All this made us take steps to mitigate the influence of the economic crisis and to remove the disproportions and contradictions emerged in our society. As early as 1979, at the twelfth congress of the party, we decided to work to achieve, over the shortest period, the country's energy self-sufficiency, develop more powerfully the base of raw materials, and reduce the dependence on foreign countries in other sectors as well.

At the national conference we placed emphasis on and set new measures for the implementation of these guidelines. We set ourselves to work for a rise in quality and technical level, for the achievement of a new quality, as we call it, of our people's work and life.

We have scored a series of achievements. In the first two years of the quinquennium, that is 1981 and 1982, we registered a slower rate of development of industrial production, of some 2-2.5 percent annually. This year we boast an almost five percent growth rate, which, given the current international circumstances, we believe is a good rate and proves that we have overcome many of the difficulties that faced us in the first two years. We have set new measures for 1984 and 1985 providing for a more intense development of industry, at a six to seven percent rate, and a higher growth of the national income. We consider that under normal international circumstances we will be able successfully to implement these provisions.

As concerns energy, next year 94 percent of the requirements will be covered from domestic resources, which also means that we boast important results in the fulfillment of the targets we have set ourselves to attain. We have also made certain progress as concerns the more appropriate supply of certain raw and subsidiary materials from domestic resources.

We strongly develop agriculture which, in the years of socialism, has gone up some 3.5 times. We have endorsed a special programme for irrigations and other land melioration operations envisaging that until 1990 some 60 percent of the country's arable area should be completely irrigated. And I must point out that so far we have carried out irrigation works on more than 25 percent of the country's area. In point of percents of irrigated area, Romania is now among the first countries in Europe. We have made great efforts and are resolved to achieve everything we have planned in this field year in, year out. Rainfalls are scarce in Romania. So, for instance, but for the irrigations, we would not have been able to supply the cereals and farm products needed this year when we experienced a prolonged drought.

I should like to once again point out that besides these measures we have also set a series of programmes concerning quality, technical standard, the growth of labor productivity and the more marked rise in profitability and economic efficiency in all sectors.

Moreover I should like to point out that we took firm measures to cut back on imports and solve problems on our own. We set ourselves to no longer resort to foreign credits and pay off our foreign debt over the shortest period. We have scored some results in this respect, and we hope to pay off our foreign debt in a few years' time.

We consider that Romania has every possibility today to rely only on its forces as far as socioeconomic development is concerned, that credits are no advantage when interest rates are so high. On the contrary, they turn into a very heavy burden and brake the socioeconomic development of the peoples and, therefore, of our country too.

Assessment of the World Situation

The international situation has seriously deteriorated. The arms race has intensified, a series of actions of force, of threat of force, of interference in other states' affairs occurred.

More particularly, we consider that the arrival of U.S. medium-range missiles in some European countries and the Soviet Union's consequent walk-out from the Geneva talks and announcement of nuclear countermeasures have created a new, extremely serious situation. That is why we consider that we should do our utmost now to halt the course towards catastrophe, towards the destruction of the world.

The Need To Halt the Emplacement of More Missiles in Europe

In our opinion, the emplacement of U.S. missiles in Europe and the application of the countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union should be prevented and the Geneva talks should be resumed so as to reach accord between the two sides. Like accord should lead to the elimination of medium-range missiles and pave the road to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe and from the whole world.

Taking account of the fact that nuclear weapons are sited in European countries, that they are of concern to the whole Europe, we consider that all the countries on the continent should take an active part in the conclusion of an agreement between the two powers. The European countries cannot stay aside and leave the two great nuclear powers decide Europe's fate. We consider that Europe should directly assume the responsibility for the existence, peace and life of its peoples.

Taking account of the existence of the military blocs, we have in view that the countries in their membership should play a more active role and participate more directly in negotiations, thus helping the two great nuclear powers to come to an adequate agreement. In the proposals Romania has set forth of late we have also laid stress on the fact that the European countries can virtually play a decisive part as, by renouncing to accept intermediate-range missiles in their territories, they ultimately bring about an accord.

From this point of view, we believe that the ensuing period has a decisive role as concerns the course of events over a long period of time, the achievement of a real passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place. Therefore, the ensuing period is decisive for the ensurance of peace and the removal of the danger of destruction of civilization and of the whole world.

That is why we consider that the cooperation among all the European states, among all the states in the world should strengthen, that the peace movements everywhere should intensify. Yet, I must insist, the politicians and the heads of state and government themselves should work in the spirit of responsibility for the life of their own peoples and of the whole mankind and contribute to removing the extremely serious danger that has been created.

On Freezing Military Spending

In the budget endorsed for 1984 we have envisaged the maintenance of military spending at the 1982 level. We believe that a freeze on military spending on the part of all states and then the achievement of a passage to its reduction are of great importance for the limitation of the arms race and the passage to disarmament. At the same time, these measures would also be of great economic importance considering the huge spending -- of over 600 billion dollars -- made throughout the world which force all states to earmark ever larger funds from the budget, some for arming, others for defence. Therefore, in this field too, firm action should be taken by all peoples and states with a view to achieving measures of putting an end to military spending and pass on its reduction.

Given the existing situation, when planning the budget for 1985 we shall analyze whether circumstances allow us to earmark the same amount in 1985 or whether we will have to increase military spending to a certain extent. However, everything will depend not on Romania's will -- since our will to curb military spending is firm -- but on developments in Europe and throughout the world, on the results to be scored in halting the nuclear arms race, arming in general. We hope we shall have the conditions needed in order not to increase military spending in 1985 either and that, in general, a passage to its reduction will be reached.

For Turning the Balkans Into a Zone of Peace, Collaboration and Understanding

Romania has been working most firmly for the improvement of its relations with all the countries in the Balkans. I wish to mention, with great satisfaction, that Romania's relations with all these countries are good, even very good with some of them, Yugoslavia included.

A series of positive results have been scored as concerns the development of a many-sided collaboration among the Balkan countries. A series of multilateral meetings were organized -- true at the level of experts -- on economic, energy- and transport-related problems, as well as on other questions. Early next year, a meeting of experts will take place in Athens, on questions related to the development of collaboration and of the activity for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. We have decided to attend that meeting inspired by the wish to come to adequate understandings providing for the calling of a conference of Balkan heads of state and government to discuss questions related to multilateral collaboration and the actions to be taken with a view to turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone. In our opinion, it would be highly important to organize such a meeting in 1984. I discussed these problems with several heads of state and government, and we reached the conclusion that such possibilities existed and that we should start preparing such a meeting.

Of course, I have more than once stressed that we place the activity of improving collaboration in the Balkans and turning the region into a zone free of nuclear weapons within the context of the general actions for security and collaboration in Europe, for a complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the continent, for a united Europe, of peace and peaceful collaboration among all states irrespective of social system.

In this context, we attach great importance to the Stockholm meeting due in January next year. We consider that under the current international circumstances and because of the situation created in Europe this meeting can play a highly important role in the adoption of tangible measures to lessen tension, build up confidence and achieve disarmament, which will exert a powerful influence on general developments. We are determined to attend this meeting and make our contribution to the attainment of like targets.

Romanian-Yugoslav Relations

The links and collaboration between Romania and Yugoslavia are very good indeed. I have repeatedly pointed out that they are an example of relations between two neighbor socialist countries. This collaboration originates in the remote past, and stems from the century-old tradition of collaboration and fight of our peoples for independence, for the abolition of domination, for self-reliant socioeconomic development.

Indeed, in the years of socialism they have risen onto a higher stage. In this respect, I should like to mention the important role played by the meetings with Comrade Tito, the fact that Comrade Tito always paid due attention to, showed concern for and insisted on the need for the links between our countries to rise onto the highest possible stage in all domains.

I should also like to stress that during the subsequent meetings with Yugoslav party and state leaders we drew joint conclusions and agreed to further and steadily develop the Romanian-Yugoslav collaboration.

It is true that we have not managed to achieve everything we planned as concerned the development of the economic exchanges and of cooperation in production -- maybe also because of the world economic situation. However, I am convinced that on the basis of the measures taken by both Romania and Yugoslavia and of those agreed upon during the latest interview with Comrade Spiljak, we will be able to make more substantial progress and pass on to a more intense development of economic relations, of technical-scientific, cultural and other collaboration as early as 1984. There are many problems in which our countries are equally interested and they have possibilities to do this.

As for collaboration in general, I mentioned when answering the previous question that our countries share common or very close stances on most international issues. There is good cooperation between our parties and countries, between the two states' representatives to various international bodies. We consider we will have to intensify this collaboration even more so as to make an ever more active contribution to overcoming the serious problems cropped up in Eruope and throughout the world, to the assertion of a new, democratic policy based on the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. These are principles actively promoted by our countries and we are convinced that our countries, alongside other peoples, can play a more important role in ensuring a lasting peace, each people's right to independent socioeconomic development.

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES DIPLOMATIC CORPS ON NEW YEAR

AU021900 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu on receiving the chiefs of diplomatic missions, in Bucharest 30 December 1983]

[Text] Mr Deputy Dean of the diplomatic corps, Messrs and comrades chiefs of diplomatic missions in Romania, I would like to express warmest thanks for the congratulations and wishes you extended to the Romanian people, myself, and to the Romanian Government on the New Year and on the Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

We are ending one year and beginning a new one. All people are in the habit of making an inventory of achievements and looking into the future.

You are living and have lived in our country, you are familiar with the work and efforts made by our people to implement their socioeconomic development programs and those of their material and cultural improvement. We have recorded achievements but we have also had certain difficulties; there are still some shortcomings, and we have proposed -- as you know -- to travel a new road in 1984 in the direction of raising Romania onto new peaks of progress and civilization and of ensuring increasingly better work and living conditions for all our people.

We are firmly convinced that under conditions of peace and of constantly developing international cooperation with all world states, irrespective of regime and social system, we will be able to achieve the targets we have proposed. Similarly, we are convinced that under conditions of peace each people will be able to attain important achievements in its development.

Proceeding from this, Romania has given and continues to give particular attention to international issues. Indeed, 1983 has not been completely in keeping with the expectations and hopes of the peoples both from a political and an economic point of view. Some of the existing conflicts have worsened, and others have emerged. There have been further violations of the peoples' independence and freedom and of nations' right to live freely and to develop in keeping with their aspirations, without any outside interference. On this occasion, I would like to make special mention of the worsened situation in the Middle East.

With small exceptions, the situation at an economic level has actually worsened. The economic situation of the developing countries has particularly worsened. The gap between rich and poor countries has widened.

All of us have had great hope in 1983 in the achivement of steps in the direction of reducing the arms race. However, as is well known, we have noted and we note new measures aimed at intensifying the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race.

True, there have been events that have demonstrated that, when proceeding from the interests of peoples, of peace, and from ensuring the necessary conditions for each people's activity, it is possible to achieve certain positive understandings. In this respect one can righteously mention as a success the conclusion of the Madrid meeting for security and cooperation in Europe with positive results. Moreover, this conference also adopted a number of decisions regarding the continuation of contacts and efforts in the direction of improving the situation in Europe, including the Stockholm conference for trust, security, and disarmament.

However, we must openly state that those results have been overshadowed by events in the past 2 months, namely by the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in certain West European countries and, as a consequence, by the announcement of nuclear countermeasures by the Soviet Union and the interruption of the Geneva negotiations.

This is not the time, and I do not want to explain why it was possible to reach this situation. We are firmly convinced that if every responsible action in the direction of the peoples' lives and peace had been taken, the very serious situation that has been created could have been avoided. It is no secret for anyone -- and specialized institutes in all countries, in both the West and the East, including the United States, have several times this year stated that a nuclear war will lead to the destruction of the very existence of life on our planet. We are right, and peoples are entitled to ask: Why are scientists not taken into consideration -- they know very well what nuclear weapons mean -- when they warn political leaders, heads of state and governments about that danger, but, on the contrary, why are such warnings opposed, thus increasing the danger of a world war which will inevitably turn into a nuclear war, with all the known consequences.

There is no justification for such actions. One can by no means discuss a balance of forces between the two sides, including between the two great nuclear powers, when they have at their disposal nuclear weapons each capable of destroying the whole of mankind several times over. Hence, is it of importance to increase the possibility of destroying the world once or a couple of times more? Can one speak -- under such circumstances -- of the nonexistence of a balance of forces? Undoubtedly, any realistic analysis shows that one cannot speak of such a thing. As a matter of fact, institutes of repute in the East and West, in the United States, and political figures, including former U.S. presidents, have stated that by no means can one invoke the problem of a lack of equilibrium in the balance of forces.

I am mentioning all this now, at the end of this year and the beginning of the new one, because it is necessary for us to deal with the situation that has been created with great responsibility and seriousness. We believe that there is still time to halt the application of the measures taken by both sides, to resume the Geneva negotiations, and act to achieve an appropriate agreement between the two sides, an agreement that will bring about the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles from Europe and that will open up the road to the elimination of all nuclear weapons from the European Continent and to proceeding to nuclear disarmament and to cutting back on conventional weapons. Today this is the will and desire of the peoples in Europe and throughout the world!

You are very well acquainted with the peace actions and movements in Europe. In certain parts it is said that these movements have "calmed down." I think that those who believe this are very wrong. I am convinced that the peoples will lend new scope to the struggle against the danger of destroying European civilization and that they will impose their will. You know that in the past year the Romanian people have joined with all their might the struggle for peace, thus supporting the policy promoted by the Romanian Government and Socialist Romania and strengthening solidarity and cooperation with all forces and peoples in Europe and on other continents who favor peace.

I believe that this movement has not had all its say yet and that it has the power and ability to make itself heard by all those responsible for the cause of peace and for peoples' vital right to existence, life, freedom, and independence.

We wish that the new year will lead to the surmounting of the situation that has been created in Europe, that it will help the achievement of appropriate agreements and understandings to resolve the problems in Europe -- I am referring to the problem of missiles -- and in other parts of the world by negotiations, and that it will mark the resumption of a rational policy of cooperation and detente.

There are certain prospects for reviving economic activity, however, those prospects are directly linked to what is going to happen in the field of the arms race. If the arms race is not halted, then economic prospects are also questionable. This is also dealt with by many institutes and study centers throughout the world, including the United States. And it is understandable that if military budgets continue to increase as they did in past years, this will undermine measures and the signs of economic recovery and will lead to an even more serious worsening of the general economic situation, especially in the developing countries.

We wish that next year certain economic difficulties will be surmounted and that the overall activity will be revived, but most of all we wish that everything will be done to reach an appropriate agreement regarding a more active support for the developing countries, the adoption of tangible measures aimed at a more rapid development of poor countries, and the achievement of a new world economic order.

You are completely right when you state that there is no reason for us to be too optimistic about the international situation as it presents itself now at the end of the year. However, we should not -- and we have no right to -- be too pessimistic. It is necessary to begin the New Year with the conviction that it is possible, and that we must act, to resove this complex of problems by negotiations and multifaceted cooperation in the direction of ensuring a lasting peace inthe world.

As far as Romania is concerned, it is firmly convinced that it is possible for us to achieve certain results next year -- and it will firmly act in this direction.

I would also like to mention that we highly value the positive cooperation -- with some countries, even very positive cooperation -- achieved this year in the direction of a policy of peace and disarmament. I greatly appreciate the efforts and certain progress made in the Balkans and we will act to achieve even greater steps in this direction next year, as part and parcel of achieving security and a Europe without nuclear weapons.

I would like to express the Romanian people's wish that 1984 should mark an even more forceful development of cooperation between Romania and all the countries inthe world. We certainly pay great attention to relations with the socialist countries, with our neighboring countries -- as each country gives priority to relations with its neighbors and as this must be done! We also give great attention to relations with the developing countries, the nonaligned countries, and the developed capitalist countries, and all states in the world, irrespective of social system.

We believe that the differences in systems and development roads should by no means be invoked to affect, in one or another manner, cooperation between countries. We are living in a world in which cooperation between countries with different social systems and different concepts about life and the world is essential for the policy of cooperation and peace and for the future of mankind. As a matter of fact, if we look back there have always been periods when states with different systems existed. Certainly, today new systems have appeared as a result of the historical-social development -- and they will exist in the future, too. Thus, the problem of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between countries with different social systems is an objective requirement for each people -- be it small or large -- for a policy of economic ooperation, for disarmament, and for peace. And we want 1984 to mark further progress in this direction.

As we have done in the past, we will do all we can to base these relations between Romania and the other states -- but also among all states in the world -- on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and renunciation of the use or threat of force.

You can very well see that in various parts of the world force, even when used by a large country, leads to quite violent reactions, no matter what these reactions are called, they express the determination by the peoples, or certain groups of peoples, not to accept foreign domination and interference in their domestic affairs. Therefore, all of us must understand this, and we must act to completely eliminate interference, in any form, in the affairs of other countries, and to permit each people to independently resolve its domestic problems and to choose the development road it desires.

In this spirit, next year, Romania wants to cooperate even more with all countries -- both with those that are represented now in this hall and with those that have no representatives here but with which Romania maintains diplomatic or trade relations -- with all nations in the world, irrespective of social system.

Would you please extend wishes for increasingly greater successes to your peoples -- on behalf of the Romanian people and myself-- in achieving their aspirations for economic development, for well-being, and happiness and in their aspirations and desires for disarmament and peace.

I wish all the peoples you represent and the heads of states and governments increasingly greater successes and all the best!

Please rest assured that the Romanian people and Socialist Romania's Government will do all they can in the future, too, to develop relations of cooperation with all countries and to achieve peace throughout the world.

Once again I wish your peoples the fulfillment of all their aspirations for peace, well-being, and happiness in the new year! I wish you the best possible results in developing relations between your countries and my country! I wish you good health and happiness! Many happy returns! (loud, prolonged applause)

DASCALESCU CABLES TURKEY'S OZAL ON APPOINTMENT

AU271714 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Dec 83 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a congratulatory cable to Turgut Ozal, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, on his appointment to that position. The cable expresses the hope that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Turkey will expand and deepen to the benefit of the two countries and peoples and in the interests of peace, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

NICU CEAUSESCU INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH PEACE ACTIONS

AU291241 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1144 GMT 29 83

["Youth Active Factor in the Struggle for International Development, Peace and Collaboration" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Excerpts] BUCHAREST AGERPRES 29/12/1983 -- SCIENTEIA prints in its December 29 issue an interview with Nicu Ceausescu, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth] president of the UN Advisory Committee on the International Youth Year.

The Romanian young people, answering the rousing appeals to responsibility and reason, the initiatives and actions of Romania's president, have actively participated in the popular manifestations organized in Romania against the arms race, for disarmament, for freeing the peoples and future generations of the nuclear threat. The young generation in Romania, as powerfully emphasized by the great action "Romania's Youth Want Peace" say a firm no to the emplacement in Europe of new medium-range missiles and the development of the ones in place, declaring for the elimination from Europe of any nuclear weapon, through a constructive political dialogue, for peace and the consolidation of the process of detente, security and collaboration. Noting that the present events in Europe demonstrate the maturity acquired by the youth moment in this part of the world, they demonstrate tellingly not only the wish but also the capability of the new generation to participate directly and contribute to the seeking out of viable solutions for the serious issues of our days, to forging the future.

MARKOVIC ON ECONOMIC TASKS, 'KOSOVO PLATFORM'

LD291922 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0530 GMT 29 Dec 83

[Report on an interview with Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, by TANJUG chief editor Mihailo Saranovic and TANJUG editor Dragica Majstorovic -- date and place not given]

[Text] Belgrade 29 Dec (TANJUG) -- The results which our society achieved in 1983, in spite of our weaknesses and the fact that we did not achieve everything we had planned, constitute a good foundation for the goals and tasks of long-term economic stabilization to be successfully realized in 1984. Above all, I have in mind the revival of production, a mild growth in productivity, growth in imports -- particularly in the convertible currency area -- the outstripping of imports by exports, a significant reduction in the balance of payments deficit, and so on.

Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said this in an interview with TANJUG Chief Editor Mihailo Saranovic, and TANJUG Editor Dragica Majstorovic. The realization of these and other goals in the outgoing year has not been without difficulties, problems and self-denial. We are entering the coming year better prepared and with clear positions and orientations and more fully defined goals. In reply to a question on the activity of the LC in the present economic circumstances, Dragoslav Markovic said:

In the past year the agendas in LC organizations and in the LCY Central Committee have often contained questions concerning the struggle for economic stabilization. This commitment followed from the decision of the 12th LCY Congress where "Starting foundations for the Long-term Economic Stabilization Program" were adopted, and also from the real (?conditions) of life. In opting for the policy of economic stabilization, the realization of which will significantly advance and strengthen socialist self-management, we have, basically, adopted a major political decision and confirmed a fundamental and important political orientation. For this reason a concern with questions of economic stabilization, both in principle and through practical activity, is unavoidably a complex and very important political task which must be constantly carried out.

We can say quite freely that the activity of the LCY, regardless of the existing weaknesses, has contributed to the widespread and fully-developed awareness of the highly complex nature of the social situation and the severity of the difficulties we face. I would add, however, that the awareness of the essence of the profound transformations which we must realize, primarily in relations of socialist production, and of the nature of all the agreed necessary changes in the method of work, conduct and lifestyle, which are contained in the orientations and policy defined in the long-term economic stabilization program, has not yet penetrated deeply enough and is still spreading quite slowly.

As long as the subjective socialist forces of society work and operate in a more organized way, society as a whole will be made more capable of realizing successfully the complex problems of the present and future tasks in line with the long-term goals of building the country on socialist lines. I would remind you here that the LC has taken an active part in the general efforts to build the base of the long-term economic stabilization program. Communists from various spheres of work and creativity, from science, the professions, and politics, have taken part in the years of work which have gone into the long-term program and accompanying documents.

Representatives of the LCY Central Committee have also taken part in the work of the Commission for Economic Stabilization of the Federal Social Councils. Finally, as I have already pointed out, the "starting foundations," which provide the basic orientation in the long-term program, were adopted at the 12th LCY Congress and comprise some of the decisions taken by the congress. It is by no means insignificant that the LC, by developing a permanently constructive critical attitude toward tendencies and problems in society, has contributed to the more realistic and comprehensive perception of the causes and nature of certain phenomena, even at the cost of pushing into the background the numerous and already achieved results, which are not inconsiderable, and which represent the basis for overcoming both the present difficulties and future tasks.

Question: How would you assess the political situation in Yugoslavia, bearing in mind the economic difficulties, the drop in real personal incomes, temporary shortages, the shortage of electrical energy, the long queues we sometimes see and so on.

Answer: I see the overall socio-political situation as being stable. At the same time, the situation is accompanied by relatively widespread manifestations of criticism and dissatisfaction caused by the numerous difficulties we are encountering and by a certain number of social problems which are increasingly severe, and so on. The present dissatisfaction is particularly influenced by the fact that we are insufficiently organized in solving individual problems which could be partially or even largely avoided and which are not being solved primarily because of subjective obstacles and weaknesses: shortages of certain consumer goods, electrical energy and the like.

Of course, as is usually the case, the difficulties and problems are being exploited both by the internal enemy and anti-self-management forces and the external enemy, primarily in order to "show" that the socialist self-management system is inefficient or incapable of meeting the fundamental vital needs and problems of society.

In these circumstances, we have not always pointed out sufficiently clearly that the difficulties we are meeting with are not always or not as a rule the direct result of our subjective weaknesses alone, though they are to a certain extent. Today, the whole world is facing economic difficulties; not even the most economically powerful countries have avoided them. As a developing country with a large legacy of backwardness in its development, in spite of one of the highest rates of development in the world since World War II, Yugoslavia suffers and will continue to suffer in the future from the consequences of the policy whereby the developed countries place the burden of overcoming the world crisis on the shoulders of the small and undeveloped countries and developing countries. If we want a precise and comprehensive assessment of the situation we find ourselves in, it is simply neither objective nor possible to overlook or underestimate these circumstances.

Finally, I would like to point to a fact which refers also to our experience in the socialist construction of society: The development of society never means successes alone, but also confronting difficulties, unresolved problems, and questions. This is not the first time that our society has been in difficulties. Things have been difficult many times in the past. Many difficulties have also arisen as a result of our own weaknesses. We must not pass over any of this in silence. However, it is unacceptable that we should also pass over in silence everything which has been positive in our development, which is the success and gain of the struggle by the working class, working people, and all citizens with the leading forces of society at their head, and which has served so often in the past and still serves as the basis for overcoming difficulties and for finding the way out to emerge even stronger, more organized, richer, and more united.

Precisely for this reason, in spite of all the difficulties the working class, working people, and citizens are not questioning our course and system of socialist self-management or the nature of and relations within our community. This is not by chance. At issue is the position of the working man, associated worker, and associated labor as a whole to exert a real influence on his fate and his material and social development. Despite all the weaknesses and inconsistencies in the development of self-management, millions of working people and citizens are already included in the system of self-management decision-making, in the delegate system and politics in the broadest sense of the word. This is a major democratic gain, a gain of the class struggle and an initiative of the broad working masses. Hence that critical attitude and dissatisfaction is expressed through strong and primarily constructive pressure from the working people to remove the bureaucratic, technocratic, etatist, and other obstacles to undertaking even broader responsibilities and opening up scope for initiative and action through the activity of associated labor and the strengthening of its influence at all levels. The working class and working people are behaving very responsibly and in a self-management manner, that is, very resolutely in preserving and further developing socialist self-management. The critical attitude toward weaknesses in solving our difficulties is also directed toward strengthening the principle that trust must be justified through work and responsibility, at all times and at all levels.

Question: On several occasions recently you have said that the question of individual and collective responsibility was the foremost question in our society. One has the impression, however, that the LC deals with these questions in a rather theoretical manner. Almost as a rule the moral and ideopolitical responsibility of its members takes second place to establishing the criminal responsibility of individuals. Does this not have a negative effect on the moral standing of the LCY? What does the LCY not make a more resolute stand for ideological differentiation in its own ranks?

Answer: I could not agree with the assertion contained in your question. Fulfilling responsibility is more complex today, since the social conditions in which the LC carries out its role are more complex and in many respects unique. When they find themselves in situations which are difficult to unravel and in which distinctions must be made between the objective and the subjective, where the kind of responsibility in question must be recognized and where the measures to be used in order to achieve a particular set goal must be identified, many people yearn for the kind of LC which, as an infallible judge, raised above partial interests and "minor", "practical" matters and criteria, would bring judgement. As a remnant and foothold of attitudes which have been overcome, this sort of thinking does exist. The LC carries out its role in a different way today and it cannot and must not replace the agents and institutions in the system in solving the question of responsibility. Even less can it take upon itself the chief responsibility, in place of them. If this were to happen, even in "the best of intentions", a change in the self-management character of the social system would come about. This is the point at which the ideopolitical attention and responsibility of the LC, as the leading force in society, must be at a peak.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that the activity of the LC organizations has been considerably expanded and intensified and that responsibility in the work of its members is more and more at the center of attention. In many organizations and leaderships of the LC there have been ideopolitical examinations and differentiation, criticism of weaknesses in work, replacement of members in responsible positions, and so on. Practical and political differentiation is underway in party organizations and leaderships in some organizations of associated labor, the League of Communists' municipal organizations, and so forth.

It goes without saying that all this is still not enough. It is far from my intention to assert that everything is all right regarding the fulfillment of responsibility in society and the LC. There is still a lot of vacillation, opportunism, reluctance to find fault, indulgence and debasing of the criteria of responsibility. This does great harm to the standing of the LC. For this reason in the LC we stress the enormous, that is, the irreplaceable importance of heightening individual and collective responsibility both in society and in the LC.

Nevertheless, I would like to stress in conclusion that we are a country and a society which has legally regulated a multitude of relations and modes of conduct. In the LC relations are regulated and the principles and criteria of responsibility and their application are laid down by the statute. As to social norms, they are regulated by the constitution and laws. In both cases a resolute stand must be taken against attempts to sentence people before they are tried, outside the procedure laid down by social norms, and to use illegal ways and means in the struggle against illegality. Illegality must be fought legally! In the LC someone could only be declared responsible following the procedure defined by the statute [sentence as received].

Question: What do you think of the claim sometimes heard that the principle of independence of the republican and provincial organizations has been developing to the detriment of the LCY's unity? How much truth is there in that?

Answer: This assertion has no basis in our statutory decisions and solutions. The LCY is a unified organization made up of the LC organizations in the republics and autonomous provinces which independently and within the framework of the general political line establishes and implements the policy and decisions, respecting the principle of democratic centralism, from the basic organization of the LC to the LCY Central Committee and the LC Congress. There is no contradiction here.

However, the practice of realizing these principles often comes under pressure from undeveloped self-management relations and tendencies towards the merging of political and management structures, from the organizations of associated labor to municipal and regional level and beyond. A particularly negative influence on relations in the LCY is exerted by the bureaucratization of the LC which leads, among other things, to the situation where, putting it simply, the individual bureaucratized groups declare their group interest to be the interest of the work organization, municipality, region, province and republic. This introduces divisions and insularity into the unity of our economic and political system, which is also reflected in the LC.

Through the activity of its members, the LC must identify these situations more successfully, recognize them in a critical manner, explain the ideological reasons for them and change them in practice.

Among other things, this points to the need to give priority to questions concerning the preparing of the LC ideologically for activity in conditions of social democracy and in the federal self-management socialist community. Misunderstandings and disagreements are frequent precisely in these ideological questions for this reason the LCY Central Committee work program envisages holding a Central Committee session to examine the realization of the LCY role in the present conditions, in light of the program orientations on the leading role of the LC.

Question: The principle of democratic centralism is not brought into question by anyone. Does it not seem to you, however, that the delegate principle has "crept into" the Central Committee to an extent? We have been able, and not so rarely, to ready very conflicting statements from top party functionaries about unanimously adopted positions. To what extent can all this lead to ideological confusion and lack of unity in the LCY's action?

Answer: The broad realization of the principle of democratic centralism is necessary if we want an LC capable of action and effective and creative in the revolutionary sense. As you say, in principle there are no disputes but there are problems in practice. Very often this comes about because the members, for different reasons, are not always in a position to influence in an active and involved way the formulation of decisions, which then leads to the ineffectual and inconsistent implementation of the decisions. The democratic essence of this revolutionary principle is sometimes neglected, which encourages the bureaucratization of the LC and inconsistencies in practical activity.

In answering this question we must proceed from what kind of program the unity of the LCY is being realized on. The LCY is the leading ideopolitical force. The LCY is directly responsible for the overall direction of social development, realizing the historical class interests of the working class, the goal of the worker in associated labor exerting a crucial influence on his position and fate, and the fate of the socialist revolution. It is essential therefore that there should be unity in the fundamental orientations of the constitutional order, the social order, socialist self-management, the policy of equality for the nations and nationalities, independence, and nonalignment. We must struggle daily for unity in achieving these goals. We must also bear in mind that the democratization both of the LC and of society is our course, that these processes of democratization in our society have made progress, that a public dialogue is broadly in evidence and that this dialogue is necessary if we want openness and responsibility, which are mutually determined to such an extent, to be realized as important self-management and democratic gains.

Various interests objectively exist in our society. Our entire self-management delegate system proceeds from respect for this fact. It is quite natural that Communists should also represent the real needs and interests, both material and cultural, of the environments in which they live. This cannot be a negative thing. However, in their ideopolitical orientation, their ideological awareness, their knowledge and the clarity of the prospect for which they are fighting, they must also be capable of seeing what constitutes the common and general interest of the working class and contributing to the coordination of these diverse and particular interests with the common and general ones.

And so, in arriving at positions and decisions and analyzing the situation and relations, diverse views naturally arise. However, this is often seen as an expression of lack of unity. Sight is lost of the fact that joint and unified positions cannot be arrived at without putting forward various arguments and alternatives. When joint adopted conclusions are arrived at the positions and decisions must be implemented in a unified manner. Problems arise when jointly established positions are interpreted in a way which suits the individual or when, following a joint decision, the individual implements only what suits his narrow interests. We must all fight resolutely against such conduct and more openly, consistently and decisively than has been the case. It goes without saying that unity is not achieved once and for all. It must be constantly built and reestablished. Social relations develop, the political situation changes and practice opens up new questions. It is natural that unity should be built constantly and that objectively it cannot be something which can be understood dogmatically.

Through the force of argument, ideological consistency, and ideological responsibility the LC acts within the system, in the grass-roots of society, so as to incorporate the general principles, orientations, and precepts of the LC in the concrete decisions and concrete solutions.

Question: The LCY today has more than 2 million members. How far does its growth in terms of quantity contribute to the quality of action? Do you not think that something should be changed regarding criteria for admission into the LCY?

Answer: I would say that the number of LCY members testifies to the strength of the LCY, the power of the ideas and goals for which the LC is fighting and the degree of acceptance of the LCY program and decisions on the directions for the long-term development of society on the basis of socialist self-management, though this cannot be expressed in absolute terms. This does not, of course, mean that all those who own a red party membership card are always and sufficiently communists in practice.

I would like to stress that the LC has never viewed the number of members as something which was either favorable or a sign of weakness. The main thing has always been and remains the quality and strength of the activity and the breadth of involvement which, together with the quality of the political decisions, is the only thing which strengthens the real influence of the LC and the effectiveness of its actions.

The criterion for the admission of new committed people, primarily from the ranks of the workers and young people, must be involvement and practical activity, just as the LC must rid itself through activity of the tired, the vacillating, the opportunists, and those who have abandoned the positions of the LC. Activity is also the basis of ideopolitical differentiation, which is very necessary in periods of struggle against complex problems and for achieving those goals set in the LCY and the institutions of our self-management political system.

For all these reasons, I think it is better to have a smaller LC organization, but one which is active, effective, efficient, revolutionary, and democratic. This, however, is a process and not a matter of resolve or will at any one particular moment in time.

Question: A session of the LCY Central Committee was recently held on the realization of the platform on Kosovo. An analysis was made of what has been achieved and the direction in which the work and activity of the LCY should be further organized was established. What would you like to stress in connection with this session?

Answer: The press reported extensively on the previous, 11th session of the LCY Central Committee. I do not want, therefore, to talk at length about it. Nevertheless, I would like to stress that the LCY Central Committee gave a basically positive assessment of the results in implementing the platform on Kosovo. At the same time, it was noted that a lot more had to be done to change the real situation and the state of awareness in Kosovo.

Of great significance is the fact that results in stabilizing the situation are being achieved and that the struggle for further stabilization is being successfully waged on the basis of socialist self-management and the platform of the policy of national equality and the further strengthening of the independent, nonaligned, socialist, self-management federal community of equal nations and nationalities.

The past period has fully confirmed both the assessments and directions of long-term activity as set out in the platform on Kosovo. The conclusions of the 11th LCY Central Committee session speak in concrete terms about the further tasks of the LCY and particularly the LCY in Serbia and Kosovo. They stress the great importance of the continued ideological struggle against the hostile slogans of "Kosovo-Republic" and "An Ethnically Pure Kosovo"; of the continued efforts to pool labor and means and implement concrete measures and steps to create a climate of trust and security, i.e. to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins; of the continued struggle for the realization of national equality, and against all kinds of nationalism; and finally of the need for the further strengthening of socialist self-management.

We are talking here about the process of the struggle for the socialist character of social relations and in our circumstances that means relations of self-management and equality for the nations and nationalities. The Kosovo LC and Albanian Communists in it will understandably bear a special burden in realizing the platform and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee but this is also an unavoidable task for the LCY as a whole. The view was taken that the tasks set in the conclusions are realistic and that the LCY is capable of realizing them.

Question: Despite the difficulties facing us, there is no doubt about the enormous results which our society has achieved in its development, with LCY at its head. How do you see the coming year, bearing this in mind, and how do you see the action of the LC in changing the situation?

Answer: Despite the weaknesses and the fact that we did not realize everything that was planned, the results achieved last year are a good basis for the goals and tasks of long-term economic stabilization to be successfully realized in 1984. Above all, I have in mind the revival of production, a mild growth in productivity, a growth in exports in general -- particularly in the area of convertible currency -- the outstripping of imports by exports, a significant reduction in the balance of payments deficit, and so on. The realization of these and other goals in the outgoing year has not been without difficulties, problems and self-sacrifices. We are entering the coming year better prepared and with clear standpoints and orientations and more fully defined goals. There will be no easy, painless and smooth paths for overcoming our difficulties in the coming year, either. The more we produce, the easier it will be. Personal incomes will also only be able to grow at the rate of productivity. Experts think that next year will in many respects be crucial to our stabilization goals. For this reason the LC must make the maximum possible effort to ensure that, in line with the decisions of the 12th LCY Congress and the long-term economic stabilization program, persistent and daily action of communists within the self-management system, the SAWPY, the trade unions, the youth organization, in a word, of the entire socialist front, should unfold in as organized a way as possible.

MAMULA DISCUSSES MILITARY PREPAREDNESS, NEEDS

AU292111 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 83 pp 1, 5, 6

[Interview given by Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, to POLITIKA on the occasion of the Yugoslav People's Army Day; "prepared for publication by Borko Gvozdenovic and Branimir Ognjenovic" ; place and date not given ; uppercase passages are boxed within the body of the interview and printed in boldface]

[Text] "WE HAVE HAD A SUCCESSFUL YEAR IN WHICH WE HAVE GAINED CONSIDERABLY RICHER EXPERIENCE. LIKE THE WHOLE SOCIETY, WE ARE GETTING USED TO WORKING IN MORE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS, WITH FEWER RESOURCES, IN A VERY UNCERTAIN MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION WHICH DEMANDS THE SPEEDIER ENHANCEMENT OF OUR DEFENSE CAPABILITY SO THAT WE ARE NOT CAUGHT UNPREPARED. IN CONFRONTING THE DIFFICULTIES, MUCH CREATIVITY AND MANY INITIATIVES HAVE COME ABOUT; THERE HAS BEEN NO RELAXING. THEREFORE, WE HAVE NOT BEEN WORKING IN COMPLETE 'PEACETIME' CONDITIONS, WHICH IS ALWAYS IMPORTANT IN OUR PROFESSION, AS IT HEIGHTENS RESPONSIBILITY AND PRODUCES HIGH QUALITY RESULTS."

This was stressed by Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, in an interview given to POLITIKA on the occasion of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] Day in response to the request to assess the period since last December, while explaining how much stronger and more powerful we are now as compared with yesterday. Branko Mamula received Aleksandar Bakocevic, chief and responsible editor; Miroslav Stojanovic, editor of the internal political sector; and his associates Borko Gvozdenovic and Branimir Ognjenovic. Dragan Markovic, director of the POLITIKA Newspaper Organization, also participated in the talk.

Continuing, Branko Mamula said:

[Mamula] We have updated our equipment training, and teaching, we have maintained the necessary levels of readiness and at the same time we have tried to perceive what our defense, particularly the armed forces, have in store in the years ahead. We have returned to the sources of our concept and doctrine, to the classics of Marxism, particularly to Comrade Tito's military thought and work. You have noticed that we have intensively carried out training and exercises and that we have held conferences on certain great problems of modern war, the armed forces, and technology.

To sum it up, since last December the overall combat capability of our armed forces and defense have increased, and our realizations regarding tomorrow are much clearer. We should not disregard the experience and realizations we have gained so that even in more difficult conditions we can successfully carry out our tasks; and difficulties cannot prevent us from doing so, or from achieving our goals, as has always been the case throughout the development of our armed forces in and since the war.

The Goal Has Been Achieved: Work Was Carried Out As Would Be the Case in War

[Unidentified reporter] This year, there were several exercises held, among which was the big exercise "Jedinstvo-83" on the territory of the SR of Macedonia at which certain new weapons produced in the country were shown. Could you please tell us what impressions these activities have left on you?

[Mamula] Everybody in the civilian and military organizations did his job and carried out the tasks, and the common goal was attained, just as it would be in war, if it were imposed on us.

The sociopolitical communities and the sociopolitical organizations, the organizations of associated labor, the civil defense, young people, and all citizens demonstrated very well their capability to carry out their tasks, be it in the "blue forces" front as well as in the rear of the front, at its full depth. Observers were able to see, and television, too, succeeded in portraying to a certain extent, that the citizens, men and women of all ages -- ranging from children to old people -- get involved in the situation and experience it. For this reason the exercise was not only a training but also a psychological preparation of citizens for what can befall them in case of aggression.

There were several important episodes in the armed struggle which had to be perceived. It was demonstrated that in the immediate tactical depth of the "blue forces'" deployment it was realistically possible to organize attacks on a part of its combat formation that is usually deployed there and to inflict losses on it, and to destroy completely and to incapacitate the combat points of the command and rear system.

As was seen, it is possible to carry out such operations both by day and on an open terrain. The condition for this are mass rifle, mortar, and anti-armored fire, mines and incendiary means, organization and the resoluteness with which operations are carried out. Our territorial units are armed and will continue to be armed with these and such combat means. Nothing can beat good organization, such precision and mass fire to create more favorable conditions for spreading the armed combat operations everywhere, and thus also in the immediate rear of the "blue forces" combat formation.

The joint struggle of the maneuvering territorial forces, units of the land forces, and the air forces of the YPA was carried out successfully. Certain tactical mistakes of some parts of the forces taking part in the exercise did not essentially reduce the fact that the common struggle in our doctrine of armed struggle has been basically mastered.

Our operation with the main front forces can be more daring and more diverse because once they penetrate or, even better, once they pass and surround the front line positions, these forces will encounter support and safeguard the operations of our forces in depth, so that the relationship of forces usually relied on in a classical attack need not be achieved in order to successfully carry out the attack, and so forth.

On the strategic-operation level it was demonstrated, and not for the first time, that the army district command, the Republican Staff of the Territorial Defense of the SR of Macedonia, and the leadership of the SR of Macedonia cooperated very successfully and united the operations of all structures. In view of the geostrategic and operational area of the SR of Macedonia, this is of special importance.

At the "Jedinstvo-83" exercise you could see weapons which have been introduced into our weaponry on a mass scale from, what we might term with qualification, the first and second generation of arms and weapons produced in our factories and developed in our institutes, and only a few examples of the third generation, which has only just been developed and entered production. By the end of 1985 this generation will also be in full serial production.

All these are first-class weapons according to their construction and factory performances. They are equally valuable according to their accuracy, destructive and penetrating power, firing range, and maneuvering qualities on every kind of ground and under all meteorological conditions.

We have been selling many of these weapons for years to friendly countries, primarily nonaligned countries, for their defense. We follow the experiences in their use and we can say that these experiences are favorable.

Also under preparation is the development and production of modern, complex weapons, weapons and equipment of the latest technological design for all three branches: land forces, air force and navy. We will seek technical aid from certain developed countries for only some of them. We shall develop everything else, and the systems as a whole, ourselves.

So, for the majority of the basic and mass weaponry in our Armed Forces we are not dependent on anyone. As I have said, measures are being taken which will, by the end of the 1980's, make us independent in the development and production of other modern weapons: the most complex equipment with greater firepower and maneuvering capabilities. I take this opportunity to recall that the USSR was among the first to give us the opportunity for transfer of technology, and this was then made possible also by certain Western countries in recent years (Great Britain, France, Sweden, and others).

We have been through a very important time and have gained valuable experience and, what is most important, we have left the European technological periphery and taken our place among the countries that are already recognized as being capable of developing and producing modern weapons and equipment. A number of countries with the most modern technologies are ready to cooperate with us, but no longer on the basis of buying licenses, but rather in joint development and production, so that we shall be active partners in such cooperation.

It will not be possible only with production for the Armed Forces, or in a narrower sense, only with development and production in our institutes and purpose-built military factories, to get out of the unenviable technological position into which we have been led by an uncontrolled and irrational policy of buying licenses according to the narrow interests of economic branches, or even the individual work organizations, regions, or republics. This can be achieved by changing the overall strategy of our country's technological development.

I can conclude that our defense no longer depends on the supply of arms and equipment from abroad, except in the case of highly complex systems. However, they could not, after all, have an important effect on the overall effectiveness of our defense. Thus we have achieved a level of technical and technological development that makes the concept of all-people's defense -- for which the basic prerequisite is reliance on our own human and material resources -- a reality.

[Unidentified reporter] Comrade Admiral, the YPA contribution to the country's development and economic stabilization is very important. The military industry that equips our Armed Forces is at the same time also a large exporter, achieving significant economic results.

[Mamula] In the YPA care is taken to ensure that material and monetary resources are used rationally and savings are made. The difficulties in social production and expenditures have even further highlighted the need for greater involvement in order to use funds acquired for carrying out all the priority tasks.

All these efforts are and must be directed toward strengthening our combat readiness. Stabilization programs have been drawn up at all levels of commands, units, institutions, and work organizations; this is at the same time an economic, political, and military matter for us.

It is understood that stabilization is a long-term task and that the battle for it can only be won through maximum efforts by all the subjective forces, which means the YPA too, as an integral part of the society. Army personnel confirms in practice its readiness to carry out the tasks in the rational use of material resources through personal self-denial contributes to the realization of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

I would like to stress that regarding the living standards of soldiers and officers we are at the limit below which we could not go without serious social demands. Many people do not know, and I would like to stress this, that the exports of the military industry and services more than cover our imports for defense needs. The medium-term plan for exports of weapons and military equipment and engineering jobs for the 1981-1985 period is double the amount of exports in the 1976-1980 period. We are doing this in keeping with our principled foreign policy.

We Are Known and Recognized in the World

[Unidentified reporter] In general, how is our military theory and practice of the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection developing?

[Mamula] The military theory and practice of the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection are increasingly more present in our theoretical writings and publications, and also in social practice. I would include several key factors among the most important achievements in this sphere.

The basic conceptual and doctrinal orientations on the defense of the country in modern conditions and the basic starting points on the preparation for an all-people's defense war have been successfully worked out.

At the same time successful work is being done on the scientific-theoretical shaping of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection on the foundations of Marx's ideas of an armed people and our general experience in creating armed forces in war and in revolution, and in their postwar development. A prominent place in this respect is occupied by Tito's military works, which are original and of vital importance to the majority of solutions for which we are searching even now, not, of course, simply transferred into a new and, in many respects, different time, but creatively applied, just as Tito always taught us to relate to experience, both our own and other peoples, from the past and to apply it. The constitutional rights and obligations of all sections of our self-managing community are respected to the maximum here, but account is taken to the same extent of the needs and interests of the unified and indivisible defense of Yugoslavia.

Scientific research in the field of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection is more intensive. It is an encouraging fact that in an increasing number of scientific projects and scientific analyses and studies throughout the country every problem is also considered from the so-called defense-security aspect. However, what could be and what we want to achieve in this respect has not been achieved by far. Nonetheless, the inclusion of Yugoslav science into research in the problem of defense and self-protection provides original solutions and touches on fields that are manifested at the surface of social development and which we have neglected (psychological, ethical, cultural, demographic, and others).

An entire system educating and training schoolchildren and young people who are not attending school, working people, and citizens for an all-people's defense war has been established.

The publishing activity in the field of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection is very fragmented.

Great interest prevails in the world in our concept and doctrine, which date from the time of the national liberation struggle, and which is intensified during the phase of anticolonial revolutions. This interest is also being expressed today in various forms through the lively interest of military and other delegations which visit our country. Many countries have incorporated certain solutions which are very close to ours, as well as a certain number of our experiences into their defense system. Our experts and officers have received numerous offers to speak on foreign military-theoretical meetings. A constant interest in all forms of bilateral military cooperation exists, as well as requests of an increasingly greater number of countries, primarily the nonaligned countries, asking us to educate an increasingly greater number of members of their armed forces in our military schools, particularly higher military schools.

So far, from military secondary schools and military academies to the schools of national defense, and at various courses, more than 7,000 members of the armed forces of almost 30 countries have been trained here. This in itself speaks of the extent to which these schools are known and recognized.

Opportunity For Overall Maturing of Personality

[Unidentified reporter] Other things are changing, too, as things develop: This perhaps also refers to the military service, which should begin immediately after graduating from school at the age of 19 years. What results have been achieved in this respect, and what does experience tell us: Will things continue as they are?

[Mamula] Experiences are positive. When young men of the same age and of approximately the same professional qualifications join the army this makes the military collectives more homogeneous, it facilitates and accelerates the adaptation of individuals. Viewed from the psychological, medical angle, individuals and whole collectives more easily bear the physical efforts and all other changes and self-denials demanded by military life. Young people of that age are still not burdened by worries about their family.

To serve the military service before one's studies has a positive effect on the maturation of the personality as a whole. The collective life, organization, and discipline have a very educational effect on people, while performing military duties makes a man more bold and independent.

Following discussions with representatives of universities and organs of the sociopolitical communities, we propose changing the law so that instead of performing military service in two periods (12 and 3 months) students should do their military service all at once and not lose more than one academic year. For students the change will mean more commitments in 1 year, but everything else has been simplified. For them this means a certain psychological relief as they do not face another period of military service on completing their studies, while for the army it is much more economical.

In some environments the question is being raised of shortening the term of military service. I have already said on several occasions that the problem is being studied and a suitable solution being sought. However, I have the impression that certain facts are not being given due regard. A peacetime army has two tasks: to educate the officers and soldiers on the military profession and defense matters; and to ensure the necessary level of readiness to defend the country from all possible surprises and to create the conditions for the wartime armed forces and society as a whole to mobilize themselves in case of danger.

This is the origin of the relevant ratio between a peacetime army and wartime armed forces. All soldiers as military conscripts in the YPA and territorial defense acquire their basic military education in the peacetime section of the YPA, as do the officers. It is well-known that our wartime armed forces are numerically about 10 times greater than the peacetime section. It is thus hardly possible to create sufficient reserves with the further reduction of this section, and the shortening of military service objectively means the reduction of the peacetime section. The very uncertain military and political situation in the world and in Europe, particularly in the last few years, provides even less justification for reducing the peacetime effectiveness. Finally, we bear in mind the highly ramified infrastructure of the armed forces, the weapons, equipment, and technology and the entire wartime army, which needs to be maintained and provided for. There is no need to speak in particular about the very process of educating and training people with increasingly more complex military technology. Time frames exist in this respect below which it is possible to go only through modern methods of training and a modern and rich material provision of training, something that we have not been able so far to prepare in all units and garrisons. And so those are some of the reasons why we are approaching the question of shortening military service very cautiously.

GROUNDLESS SPECULATIONS

THE ARMED FORCES, AS PART OF THE SOCIOPOLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT, WILL DO WHAT SOCIETY WILL DEMAND OF THEM. THIS IS LAID DOWN BY THE CONSTITUTION. FOR THIS REASON CERTAIN SPECULATIONS THAT IGNORE THIS FACT ARE COMPLETELY GROUNDLESS.

WEAPONS EXPORTS

WE PLAN TO INCREASE THE EXPORT OF WEAPONS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT, AND THIS IS CONFIRMED BY PAST RESULTS. THUS, IN THE FIRST 2 YEARS, 62 PERCENT OF THE MEDIUM-TERM PLAN HAS BEEN FULFILLED, AND THIS SHOWS THAT CONDITIONS EXIST FOR SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASING EXPORTS BY 1985. FOR INSTANCE, THE EXPORT PLAN FOR 1983 IS 43.5 GREATER THAN LAST YEAR.

TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE

WHEN THE TERRITORIAL DEFENSE IS INVOLVED, IN CASE OF AN AGGRESSION AGAINST OUR COUNTRY THERE IS NO LIMIT TO HOW MUCH THE TERRITORIAL DEFENSE CAN GROW. HOWEVER, THERE IS A LIMIT, TECHNICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL, AS TO HOW TO EQUIP IT. HOWEVER, IN A WAR WE WOULD PROBABLY GET HOLD OF ARMS AND EQUIPMENT WHICH WE WOULD PRODUCE OURSELVES, AND IN A SPECIFIC SITUATION WE MAY OBTAIN THEM FROM OUR ALLIES, WREST THEM FROM THE ENEMY, AND SO FORTH.

THEREFORE, WE ATTACH FULL IMPORTANCE TO THE TERRITORIAL DEFENSE IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHAT SOCIETY CAN DO AT THIS MOMENT.

Devotion of Yugoslavs Temporarily Working Abroad

[Unidentified reporter] In an opinion poll, which POLITIKA carried out some 10 years ago, 99 percent of our citizens temporarily working abroad said that in case of an attack on Yugoslavia they would immediately report to our diplomatic missions, or they would independently find a way to return to the country. What is the situation like today?

[Mamula] Although there have been no such opinion polls recently, we believe that the mood of our citizens temporarily working abroad is still the same. On my recent visit to Sweden I gained this impression while talking to our workers temporarily working in that country.

This is also borne out by the fact that we have citizens with dual nationality, who are not dutybound to do military service in the SFRY but who come into the country and ask for this to be made possible.

In our talks with soldiers coming to perform their military service and with our diplomatic-consular representatives we have realized that there exist unsolved questions in connection with the arrival and departure of these people, by taking their leave, and so forth. And the customs concessions have also not been resolved. For this reason it is known that all these problems call for more favorable solutions.

It is the duty and desire of our citizens to take part in the defense of the country. They are considerable in number and hence the decision to constantly study and develop plans for their return in case of a threat to the country. There are many difficulties which could arise here, depending on the military and political circumstances in Europe and the threat to the SFRY. We must not underestimate the psychological pressures and hostile propaganda which would be spread among them. At such moments the extreme Yugoslav emigre groups would seek the chance to make them waver and to win them over to their own side. Bearing this in mind and all the speculation regarding the extreme emigre organizations, in case of an attack on the SFRY we might expect these organizations to enjoy the support of the relevant forces in the countries where our workers are. However, none of this would or could prevent the majority of our citizens from performing their duty. During World War II our citizens in overseas countries and thousands of miles away from their homeland found ways of helping the national liberation struggle in an organized manner. Some of them managed to join the armed struggle for the liberation of the country through overseas brigades [as published]. Now we are able to organize and prepare for that in time there where these citizens live and work. We are able to do even more to receive and include them in our country.

[Unidentified reporter] We live at a time of great social disruptions and difficulties, and this implies a multiplication of disagreements. How is this reflected in political life in the Army?

[Mamula] The moral-political unity of the Army personnel, the political-security situation, the general state and political disposition in the YPA are good, irrespective of the problems and the complex situation in the country. Most of the Army members suffer no dilemmas regarding the self-managing course and other essential rules of our domestic policy.

The Army personnel understand the situation in which our country finds itself. They support the measures of the LC and the state organs, and express and show in practice their readiness to make personnel sacrifices and contributions for implementing the economic stabilization policy. They are convinced that the stability in economic and overall social development can be achieved by relying on our own forces. This is also the basis of the ideological and action unity of the Army personnel achieved in the combat development of the units and the Army as a whole, by implementing the concept of All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, by realizing the LCY overall policy and by the resolute continuation of Tito's revolutionary work. The Army's internal problems and shortcomings are being successfully overcome and there are no essential problems that the commands, the LCY organizations, and other subjective forces cannot solve.

Attempts at Undermining and Attacks on the YPA

Within the framework of wider relations, which are being created in the world and around us, the YPA -- as an important factor of the overall stability in the country -- was and will be attacked, that is, there will be attempts to undermine it and to compromise it. After all,this has been our experience up to now, and after Tito's death the attacks on the YPA have become even more intense. Above all, attempts are being made to present the YPA as a possible usurper of the sociopolitical functions and to provoke mistrust of it.

Our officer cadres consider the responsiblity for the position and development of the country to be the highest obligation of all sociopolitical factors -- the LC, themselves, and the entire Armed Forces. This feeling developed during Tito's time, especially during periods when the country was experiencing difficulties. This is also the reason why the YPA and its personnel behaved in accordance with these circumstances and were prepared to defend the interests of the revolution.

This feeling continued to grow after Tito's death, as did the sensitivity toward phenomena which in some parts of society reflected inadequacy or indecision concerning further trends of socialist self-managing development and Yugoslav unity.

There are no differences between the wartime generations, only small numbers of which are now in the YPA, and the postwar generations, which have matured with them and under their leadership. The first postwar generations also bear all the basic characteristics of the wartime generations. Naturally, certain other characteristics of the younger generations are also appearing, but the continutiy of the most positive achievements of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution is also reflected in them, and the military leaders devoted to the Yugoslav socialist self-managing society teach on the basis of these characteristics.

The togetherness of Yugoslav self-managing interests is deeply rooted in the consciousness of the YPA officers. It emanates both from the basic decision of our peoples to live together, as well as from the national composition, the conditions of life and service all over the SFRY territory, and finally from the unity of the defense of the country they directly serve.

[Unidentified reporter] Comrade Admiral, what do you think about the further development of the Armed Forces in general and of its several parts -- the YPA and the territorial defense?

[Mamula] Modern wars, just as social occurrences and as technological, doctrinary, and organizational processes, are changing their characteristics. Military science and other sciences taking part in the study of war are confronted with new tasks.

The experiences of the wars that have been waged or are being waged in the age of modern military technology and doctrine are very varied. At first sight, they put an extraordinary stress on the importance of modern weapons. However, with a slightly deeper immersion in the background of a victory or defeat, one notices the importance of morale (motivation, indoctrination), high level of training, and other human factors. The relationship between man (people's masses) and technology changes in some respects, but not essentially.

Under the conditions of a constant threat of nuclear arms, local and regional wars seem to be the most probable manner in which global aims will be attained in the future.

One can expect most varied forms of local wars. The methods by which they will be waged may be indicated to some extent by the present Middle East crisis and the war in Lebanon -- one-time clashes of internal forces along with the presence of foreign military forces and their involvement on one side or another, with the indirect or quite direct support of the big powers.

It is very probable that representatives of blocs and big powers will be even more present in various regions of the world. In these regions they will be protagonists of interference, threats, pressure, up to armed aggression, just as Israel is in the Middle East. However, Israel, which has traditionally been such a case for 35 years, is no longer the only one. We have other cases in South Africa, South-East Asia, and other regions.

For our concept of defense and military art, the question of relation among the various factors of armed struggle is essential. Our starting point must remain that man and his characteristics are the material force that wins or loses a war. We cannot accept the forecast that man will be overshadowed in a clash with technology, just as we cannot accept the argument that technology will be pushed into the background by man's high motivation. A synthesis between man and technology occurs again, but at a much higher level and with different qualiites of both man and technology.

Further, we must proceed from the fact that we are a country which activates most of its defense potentials from the social basis through the mobilization of society and the Armed Forces. In order that this extremely complicated strategic undertaking may be carried out in an orderly and efficacious manner, we must successfully overcome the first strike, that is, we must prepare for a strategic reception. Until we create the possibility to activate all the comparative advantages of our system of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, we must respect the logic and the structure of the modern armed struggle as a military-technological process. This means that our Armed Forces must contain the following:

-- such a first strategic echelon that it will be capable -- in the number, kind, and quality of units -- of successfully opposing the respective units of a possible agressor in the opening period of a war;

-- such a mobilization system of the Armed Forces and society that it will enable the harmonization of the time the mobilization will require and in its extent and quality with the time of the efficacious defnese by the A-echelon in the main operational directions. In practice it means that the mobilization in the border areas and in the forward defense belts should be concluded in the shortest possible time, which will make it easier for the A-echelon to carry out its strategic role in the overall mobilization of the country.

We must more thoroughly elaborate the partisan form of the armed struggle in our military art. Many doctrines envisage in their theories that armed struggle and military operations in general may be conducted in an occupied territory as a subsidiary form of operations. We are the only country whose doctrine contains the teaching that, in accordance with the changed battlefield conditions, the strategic emphasis of the armed struggle may lie in a temporarily occupied territory. I believe that our military does not sufficiently elaborate all the possibilities for 'giving scope' to the numerous influential factors of preparing and waging an armed struggle under these conditions.

Under the influence of increasingly powerful hardware and on this basis of the increasingly significant intensification of military effects in time and in all the four dimensions of space [as published], the content of some principles of military art is essentially changed. The offensive spirit, initiative, and maneuver are becoming new contents and dimensions, and the speed, depth, and dispersion of military effects in the battlefield are more and more frequently elevated to the rank of basic principles.

In this connection, it becomes a key question for the defense doctrines of how one can impose the doctrine of a long, exhausting war on the modernized versions of the doctrine of blitzkrieg and their theories of the first battle, which endeavor to identify the whole war with its initial period. We must never consider the answer to this question to be final, but we must continually stress it and we must accept without prejudice that all the potentially aggressive doctrines will try to impose on us their own theoretical viewpoints about decisive battles and strikes in the initial period of a war, which would deprive us of the essential advantages of our doctrine and strategy of the all-people's defensive war.

The experiences of the modern wars confirm that war operations are very intensive and that the level of attrition of material and human resources is very high. This can now be considered one of the important principles of the military art. This means that the military art will be faced in the future with the serious problem of how the used-up military resources can be renewed quickly, since otherwise the possibility of waging the war further will be questionable. This is an extremely important question for us, who are preparing for a long, exhausting, all-people's defense war, if it is imposed on us. It puts the overall war preparation in peacetime on the first order of importance, particularly the preparation of material military reserves and the preparation for war-time production.

Therefore the basic directions of the further development and the technical modernization of the Armed Forces must be in conformity with their place and role in the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection. The stress in the further building of the peacetime YPA is on equipping and training it so that it may withstand a first strike and thus ensure a comprehensive mobilization and development of all the forces and resources of the SFRY All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection which are available for combat and for resistance.

Considering the combat characteristics of the forces we may expect in our theater in the event of aggression, and considering the doctrine of their use, the stress in the technical modernization of all the three services of the YPA must be directed in the future on an increase in firepower, the precision and range of the fire, as well as in their overall combat and maneuver ability, and their resistance to electronic means.

Territorial defense will continue to develop as the widest form of organized resistance of armed people on the entire territory of the SFRY. This means that territorial defense must be developed and comprehensively trained to wage a successful struggle, together with the YPA and other forces of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, in all operational conditions and forms of armed struggle which a long-lasting war may impose on us. The military skill must be developed more quickly and with a greater inspiration for its most effective use.

Detente is Paralyzed

[Unidentified reporter] We ask you to assess, as a federal secretary, the current military-political situation in the world and how it reflects on our defense?

[Mamula] I have spoken recently more extensively about this in the SFRY Assembly, and on this occasion I will only point to certain most vital elements.

There is no longer any doubt about the fact that the crisis of international military-political and economic relations is deepening and that this tendency is not a passing one but rather is of a rather long-term character. Detente has been paralyzed and the talks that accompanied it have been blocked. This is confirmed by the recent interruption of the talks in Geneva on limiting the race for nuclear missiles armaments.

The arms race and the growth of military might of the great powers and blocs specially threaten the nonaligned and developing countries, which have become the object of destabilization, special wars, military interventions, and local wars. To defend their independence and freedom, these countries are forced to use a large share of their already insufficient economic potentials for more rapid armament, and this in some of these countries provokes an intensification of basic contradictions and creates a situation suitable for "an indirect action" and the application of the methods of unconventional war.

However, increased tension in international relations and the further accumulation of arms also contain the danger of an outbreak of armed conflicts of wider proportions. The deployment of missiles in Europe represents a direct danger of this kind.

In view of such unfavorable international trends, the development of the situation in the Near and Middle East causes special concern. The very complex situation in this area could, under certain conditions, develop in a conflict that would threaten not only the countries of the region but also peace wider afield. This would inevitably also reflect on the security in the Balkans, and thus also on our country.

The important thing for us is that some negative military-political trends are increasingly drawing nearer to our area. In this connection, the Balkans -- and also because of the relations between some Balkan countries as well as internal trends within some of them -- has started to attract even greater attention. Our security is most directly affected by the accelerated modernization of the armed forces of the bloc countries, which also include military groups in most neighboring countries. These groups are already very developed and have at their disposal large quantitites of modern armament. The process of their modernization continues and is being accelerated, while their military expenditures regardless of economic difficulties, are constantly increasing. In addition, the introduction of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles by NATO and the announced countermeasures of the Warsaw Pact will lead to a further increase in the level of armaments -- nuclear as well as conventional -- in Europe and in our own immediate neighborhood.

All this shows the need for a constant strengthening of all defense structures in our country. Apart from measures on the military plane, our activity with nonaligned and other peace-loving forces to overcome the present dangerous tendencies in intranational relations, to continue the disarmament negotiations, to restore mutual trust, and to solve problems by peaceful means is also important for our country's security.

As I have already said in my report to the Assembly, in this connection, the forthcoming CSCE in Stockholm may be very important. The nonaligned and neutral countries must make maximum efforts to overcome contradictions in the atmosphere of trust and to resume the dialogue between the East and West.

Open and Critical Attitude

I HAVE SPOKEN QUITE OPENLY AND SINCERELY. ALSO IN THE ARMY THINGS ARE NOT ONLY BLACK OR WHITE, GOOD OR BAD, AND IT IS NOT SUCH THAT WE PUBLICIZE ONLY WHAT IS GOOD, AND THAT WE WORK ON REMOVING WEAKNESSES WITHIN OUR FIELD OF ACTIVITY ONLY....

WE ARE ALSO CRITICAL OF MANY THINGS IN SOCIETY. FOR INSTANCE, THIS SITUATION WITH THE ELECTRICITY SUPPLY SHOULD NOT HAVE HAPPENED. THIS IS THE RESULT OF A NUMBER OF SUBJECTIVE WEAKNESSES AND MISTAKES.

ROAD TO NEW REALIZATIONS AND INSPIRATIONS

I HAVE SPOKEN MUCH ABOUT PROSPECTS. WE ALREADY RAISED THIS PROBLEM EARLIER. WHY DO I WANT TO STRESS IT? TO A LARGE EXTENT WE HAVE IMPLEMENTED THE IDEAS WHICH WE SET AT THE END OF THE SIXTIES REGARDING THE CONCEPT OF DEFENSE AND THE DOCTRINE OF DEFENSE. THOSE WERE IDEAS OF OUR WAR, STILL RATHER FRESH. THEY WERE THE ORIGINAL IDEAS OF COMRADE TITO AND THE NARROW CIRCLE OF LEADING PEOPLE AROUND HIM. THEY HAVE EXHAUSTED THEMSELVES ONLY IN THE OPERATIONAL SENSE. THEY WERE NOT EXHAUSTED AS A CONCEPT BECAUSE THERE IS NOT MUCH TO CHANGE IN THE CONCEPT. WE WILL FURTHER DEVELOP IT, AND THE SAME GOES FOR DOCTRINE, AND WE HAVE GOOD REASON TO MODERNIZE MUCH OF IT AND TO BRING TO THE LEVEL OF MODERN RELATIONS, BOTH MILITARY-STRATEGIC, POLITICAL, DEMOGRAPHIC, AS WELL AS PSYCHOPHYSICAL [PSIHOFIZICNI] RELATIONS. THERE IS MUCH WORK IN THIS RESPECT AHEAD OF US TO REACH NEW REALIZATIONS AND INSPIRATIONS.

OUR OWN TANK

WE ARE THINKING ABOUT PRODUCING OUR OWN TANK. WE MUST KNOW WHAT A TANK WOULD MEAN IN 2000, WHAT IT REPRESENTS IN THE CONCEPT OF ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENSE, IN THIS LAND AREA WE HAVE, AND IN OUR STRATEGIC SITUATION.

USSR ENVOY HANDS POPOVIC SUPREME SOVIET RESOLUTION

LD302320 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Dec (TANJUG) -- Mirko Popovic, vice president of the SFRY Assembly, today received Nikolay Rodionov, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to Yugoslavia. The USSR ambassador handed him the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the international situation and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, addressed to the parliaments of all countries.

PRICE RISES, 'NEW PRICE FREEZE' DISCUSSED

AU301344 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 83 p 2

[Danilo Vukovic commentary: "Bitter Pill"]

[Excerpts] The news of the corrections of relative prices, that is, of the increase in prices of a considerable number of products, has taken no one by surprise. This was not only because we are somehow used to constant changes in price lists and to high prices, but primarily because these changes were envisaged and planned long ago as one of the first moves in the implementation of the first stage of the long-term economic stabilization program. One can even say that the changes in the relations among the relative prices, which were disrupted long ago, began to be made later than expected.

As unpleasant as it may sound, the arguments that these corrections of relative prices were inevitable cannot be refuted. What is involved is the primary distribution, the prices with which one in practice evaluates labor and the results of labor and without which -- if this evaluation is not good -- we would not be able to make a single step further in implementing the economic stabilization program. This is exactly why the corrections of relative prices have been designated as being the most urgent among the priority tasks of the first stage of the program, and therefore were given a considerably short time limit (October).

As for the new price freeze, however paradoxical it may seem to us in the time when there is more and more talk about creating a large scope for the market and after unhappy experiences with this measure, it also seems inevitable, just like the accompanying price corrections. The fact that the previous price freezes failed to achieve the expected results in curbing inflation -- and they could not achieve any, when everyone is left to decide according to his fancy whether he is going to adhere to the adopted decisions or not -- is not a reason to give up the measure.

Of course such administrative measures can serve only in the short run, to sound out the ground for a freer working of economic laws and for a removal of the unpleasant consequences of inflation.

It should be said that the effects of the changes depend to a large extent on synchronized measures and activities in other fields of the economic system and economic policy. As a rule, in order to preserve the effects of such corrections and to mitigate the consequences, changes should follow in other fields, too, for instance, in the system and policy of money and credits, of economic relations with foreign countries, taxes, and so forth. The absence of simultaneous changes in these directions -- and we cannot see any yet -- makes the procedure of harmonization more complex and difficult.

Regarding the first round of corrections of relative prices, we can accept it as a bitter pill which must be swallowed so that the body may become healthier.

NUCLEAR-FREE BALKANS POSITION DISCUSSED

AU271800 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 83 p 2

[Zoran Mandzuka commentary: "The Balkans and Missiles"]

[Excerpts] Does Europe, torn between lethal missiles and convincing peace movements, keep impotently silent now? Impotently? New American missiles are being installed on West European soil, already replete with weapons; they are being installed in our immediate neighborhood -- in Comiso, for instance -- and old, equally distructive Soviet missiles, also piled up to excess, will be deployed, as has been announced, on East European soil, perhaps again in our neighborhood, for instance, in Bulgaria.

The answer seems to be gloomy in the affirmative. Europe, caught in a constant, now probably the sharpest post-war confrontation and contest of the two superpowers, Europe without a voice, is a depot for the largest quantities of totally destructive weapons.

The peace movements, regardless of all their breadth and persuasion, do not yield the desired results.

What can be expected of political initiatives? Here, the answer is encouraging. Much can certainly be expected from the forthcoming conference in Stockholm, if this "much" denotes indications of a resumption of a dialogue between the East and the West which has now completely died down. Much can also be expected from such initiatives as, for instance, the one that the Balkans should be transformed into a nuclear-free zone.

The idea is not new, but it is now being renewed with all the strength of its advantages; Yugoslavia has firmly accepted it, which is undoubtedly significant because a central, stabilizing role in the Balkans has long belonged to Yugoslavia as a country which physically and politically separates the military-political groups in this area and conducts a policy of nonalignment. This is a policy that strives for a constant advancement of good neighborliness -- which is always at the center of our activities -- and for a patient promotion of cooperation in all those fields where it is possible.

Facts show, however, that the building of an overall Balkan cooperation and the transformation of the Balkans into a nuclear-free region face several visible obstacles: There is, first of all, the fact that the Balkan countries are adopting all possible international positions: some are members of one bloc, others of the other, Yugoslavia is nonaligned, and Albania is a self-isolated country. There are also mutual unresolved problems which slow down even the bilateral cooperation of several countries. There is, finally, a different perception of the values of one's own national interests, which are the only proper substitute for an unquestioning position as a bloc satellite, which position ruled most of the Balkan countries through many post-war years.

Nevertheless, despite everything -- or precisely because of it -- it is certain that the idea of a nuclear-free Balkans, the idea of the Balkans as a region of cooperation, is now one of the most valuable factors in the search for a way out of the crisis in international relations. Encouragements in the Balkans certainly mean encouragements in Europe, too.

BRIEFS

FOREIGN CURRENCY BANK ACCOUNTS -- Belgrade, December 30 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Secretariat for Finance yesterday evening, Thursday, offered a more detailed explanation of the provisions of the new law on personal foreign currency bank accounts. Under the new law, passed by the Assembly of Yugoslavia on December 27, the interest on the personal foreign currency bank accounts in Yugoslavia will be paid in dinars. An exception are the Yugoslavs temporarily employed abroad in foreign firms, who will continue being paid the interest in foreign currency. Every Yugoslav citizen can open a personal foreign currency bank account without having to specify the origin of the foreign currency funds. According to first expert assessments the new law will relieve the banks from the obligation of paying several hundred million dollars each year in foreign currency interest rates. The sum that Yugoslavs currently keep in their personal foreign currency bank accounts totals some 5.8 billion dollars, and originates for the most part from foreign currency remittances of Yugoslavs temporarily employed abroad. The interest rate on foreign currency sight deposits in Yugoslavia totals 7.5 percent. Interest rates on foreign currency 1-, 2-, 3-year term deposits in Yugoslavia respectively total 9, 11, and 12 and 1/2 percent. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0922 GMT 30 Dec 83 LD]